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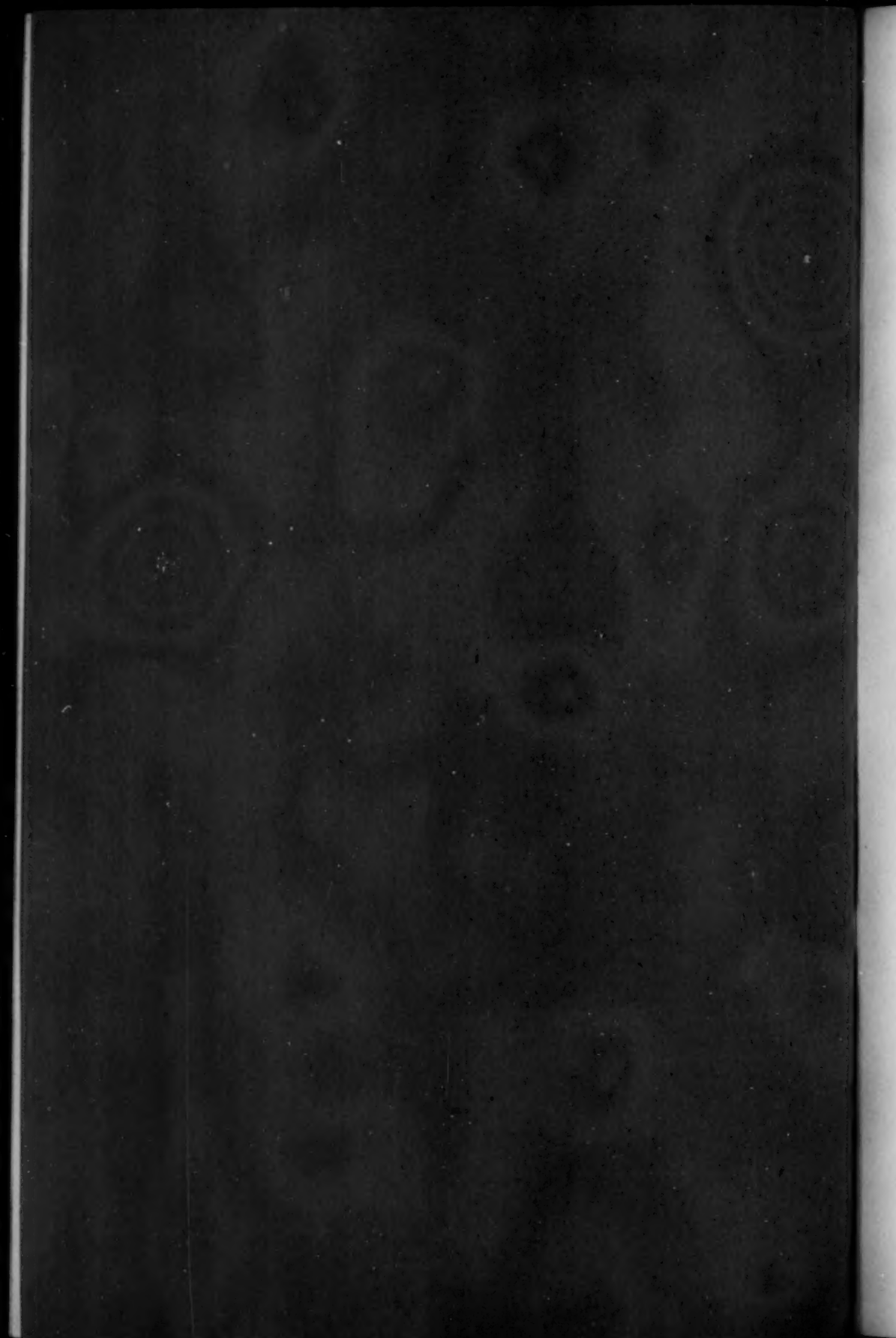
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NUMBER 1

Louis Jolliet

Early Years: 1645-1674

Next September the Province of Quebec will celebrate the third centenary of the birth of Jolliet. This article is intended as a contribution toward a better knowledge of the early life of the discoverer of the Mississippi, while articles on other phases of his career will appear this year in subsequent issues of MID-AMERICA.

The present narrative extends from his birth to his return from the voyage which will perpetuate his name as long as the muddy waters of the Mississippi empty into the Gulf of Mexico. An account of the voyage itself, however, is not included, because the basic sources for this narrative have not been properly analyzed. From the discussion of Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi¹ and from the study of Marquette's map published below, it is apparent that those who have written about the expedition of 1673 have done little more than examine the basic sources in a perfunctory manner; most writers being satisfied to accept uncritically what their predecessors had said. Besides the two basic sources mentioned above, the others will be studied later in articles in this review.

Louis Jolliet,² the third child of Jehan Jolliet³ and of Marie

¹ "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, October 1944, 301-324.

² In every extant genuine signature he spells his name with two "l's." Cf. E. Gagnon, "Jolliet' ou 'Joliet'," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (BRH), XII, 1906, 306-310.

³ According to Amédée Gosselin, "Jean Jolliet et ses enfants," *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XIV, 1921, section 1, 65, Jolliet's father signed his name as in the text. This article of the late Mgr Gosselin is an important contribution toward our knowledge of Jolliet's movements between 1667 and 1672. We can only regret that he did not publish in full the many receipts which he had before him when he wrote this article, *ibid.*, 71.

d'Abancourt dite La Caille,⁴ was born near Quebec⁵ shortly before September 21, 1645, on which day he was baptized by Father Barthélemy Vimont, S.J.,⁶ in the upper story of the house of the Company of New France (the One Hundred Associates), which was then used as the church of the town of Quebec.⁷ He lost his father before he was six years old;⁸ and six months after the death of Jean Jolliet, his wife married Geoffroy Guillot dit Lavalé.⁹ We do not know where Louis lived between the date of his father's death and the time when he began to attend the Jesuit College of Quebec. His name does not appear in contemporary documents until August 10, 1662, when he received minor orders from Bishop Laval, "in the sodality chapel of the College of the Jesuits" in Quebec.¹⁰ It is legitimate to deduce, however, that by this time Jolliet had finished his classical course, which took from six to seven years, and hence that since 1655 or thereabouts, he had followed the courses at the college; but whether as a boarder or as a day student is not known.

The future discoverer of the Mississippi was a musician, and it may be that his talent helped him to "work his way through college." After he had become a cleric, Jolliet either played the organ in the Jesuit church or taught music in the college of Quebec. At any rate he is mentioned as "musician" in the entry dated January 1, 1665, in the Journal of the Jesuits: "We invited to supper the Sieurs Morin and Jolliet, our musicians (nos officiers de musique)."¹¹

⁴ Father Vimont wrote her name with a "t" when he entered the baptism of her son Louis in the church register. The census taker in 1666 did likewise. The "dite" came from her father, Adrien d'Abancourt dit La Caille, "the quail." Cf. BRH, XXI, 1915, 235; XXII, 1916, 322.

⁵ Cf. Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 65-66.

⁶ A photographic reproduction of the baptismal entry is in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1924-1925* (RAPQ), Québec, 1925, 197; printed and translated into French in E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Île d'Anticosti*, Montreal, 1913², 29. This book was first printed at Québec in 1902; there is a third edition dated Montreal, 1926. Some unimportant appendices of the first edition are omitted in the two Montreal printings; the changes in the text are negligible.

⁷ Cf. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 29-30.

⁸ Jean Jolliet died April 23, 1651, Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 66; he was buried on the following day, C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, 7 volumes, Montreal, 1871-1890, I, 324.

⁹ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 67; Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, I, 292. In the census of 1666, RAPQ, 1936, 54, Marie d'Abancourt is listed as "vefve de Jean Guillot." "Guillot (Godefroy) dit Lavallée, qui se marie à Québec, en 1651, ne signe pas; mais est toujours nommé dans les papiers du temps, Gefroy au lieu de Godefroy." Philéas Gagnon, "Noms propres au Canada-Français," BRH, XV, 1909, 92.

¹⁰ Auguste Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada, 1622-1728*, 2 volumes, Québec, 1890, II, 689.

¹¹ C. H. Laverdière and H. R. Casgrain, eds., *Le Journal des Jésuites*, Montreal, 1892, 330.

Six months later, Godefroy Guillot, his step-father, was drowned in the St. Lawrence, and on November 8, 1665, four months after the accident, Jolliet's mother married Martin Prevost, her third husband.¹²

In the census of 1666, we find the following entry: "Monsieur Jolliet, clerq d'esglise."¹³ On July 2 of the same year, Father Le Mercier wrote in the Journal of the Jesuits: "The first disputations in philosophy were held in the [chapel of the] Sodality, with success. All the public officials were present. M. the Intendant [Talon] among others, presented some very good arguments. M. Jolliet and Pierre Francheville defended the whole of logic very well."¹⁴

In 1667, Jolliet left the seminary and went to France late in the autumn of the same year. Gosselin comments as follows upon the date of his sailing:

In his book Ernest Gagnon asserts Jolliet left Quebec on the *Saint-Sébastien*, August 28, 1667. Yet Jolliet himself dates his account from the month of October. The census in which he is still said to be *clerc*¹⁵ was taken in September and in October [1667]. This can be readily ascertained by comparing the age of young children [given in the census] with the date of their baptism as found in the church registers.¹⁶

While Gosselin is quite right in basing his argument on the account of October 14, 1668, his second argument does not prove all that he supposes, particularly the date when Jolliet decided to leave the seminary. First of all, the ages given in the nominal censuses are often approximate or quite erroneous. As a matter of fact, the nominal census of 1667 seems to have been completed in August.¹⁷ Secondly, Jolliet may well have been listed as *clerc* in September 1667, even though he had ceased being a seminarist, because strictly speaking, the fact that he had received the tonsure and minor orders constituted him a *clerc* both in the eyes of the Church and before the law. We do not know when Jolliet notified Laval that he did not feel called to the priesthood, but an entry in the Journal of the

¹² Am. Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 67.

¹³ RAPQ, 1936, 3.

¹⁴ *Journal des Jésuites*, 345.

¹⁵ B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, 8 volumes, Montreal, 1882-1884, IV, 65, col. 1.

¹⁶ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69, n. 3.

¹⁷ "Parce que présentement je me trouve fort indisposé, je remets encore au départ des autres vaisseaux qui sont en cette rade à vous envoyer Le Rolle des habitants que vous recevrez fort exact." Talon to Colbert, August 25, 1667, RAPQ, 1931, 75. Gosselin, in a previous note, qualifies the time when the census was taken, September and October, adding: "au moins pour la ville de Québec."

Jesuits might be taken as an indication that it was sometime during the first months of 1667. In the philosophical disputation held on July 15, 1667, Amador Martin and not Jolliet is mentioned as Francheville's co-defendant.¹⁸

As we have just noted, the account of October 1668 which Gosselin printed in full enables us to determine the date when Jolliet sailed for France. After leaving the seminary, he had to find some means of livelihood. "We do not know for what purpose or on whose advice a voyage to France was immediately decided upon."¹⁹ If his not taking part in the philosophical disputation of July 1667 means that he had already notified Laval of his intention to leave the seminary, then instead of "aussitôt" several months must have elapsed between his decision and his voyage to France. Gagnon speaks of "special studies" as the reason for the voyage, and he asks whether these studies had not been suggested by Tracy or Talon.²⁰ There is no evidence to support these conjectures. Gosselin is closer to the truth when he writes that it was Bishop Laval who made the voyage possible.

Even if Jolliet did not have to pay his fare, he had to find money somewhere for his other expenses, for he was penniless.

The Bishop of Petraea who knew the young man well, and who appreciated his talents and his fine qualities, opened his purse and advanced the necessary funds. This we learn from Jolliet himself in the document which we shall quote *in extenso*.²¹

Below is the translation of that part of the itemized account of the money borrowed directly or indirectly from Laval by Jolliet. The document is in the archives of the Séminaire of Québec (Laval University), and according to Gosselin, it is signed by Jolliet.

Itemized account of what was furnished to me from the month of October 1667 to the month of November 1668 by my Lord of Petraea in my necessity.

For the passage [and for] a suit of clothes, when I left for France, ninety livres.

Received from Monsieur Poitevin, by order of my Lord [Laval], for wearing apparel as well as for my board and lodging at St. Josse, one hundred and sixty-one French livres.

Received from Monsieur de Lauson by the same order of my Lord of Petraea, twenty-eight French livres.

For the cost of the [return] passage, sixty French livres.

To cover my expenses during my stay at La Rochelle, one hundred and ten French livres ten sols.

¹⁸ *Journal des Jésuites*, 355.

¹⁹ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69.

²⁰ Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 41-42.

²¹ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69.

All of which together adds up to four hundred and thirty livres ten sols in French money, and five hundred and eighty livres in Canadian money.²²

Contrary to Gosselin's supposition, Jolliet had to pay his fare before leaving Quebec, for the first item includes the cost of the crossing to France, sixty livres in French money.²³ The "Monsieur de Lauson" spoken of in the third item was Charles de Lauzon-Charny, the youngest son of the fourth governor general of Canada. M. de Charny, as he was known in New France, had left Quebec on October 17, 1666,²⁴ for the mother country, where his presence was required to attend to family affairs after his father's death which had occurred in Paris in the preceding February. M. de Charny was a great friend of Bishop Laval, and it was only natural that Jolliet should visit him. In Paris, he lodged at the house of the parish priest of St. Josse, the "Monsieur Poitevin" mentioned in the second item of the list, to whom Laval wrote in 1668, shortly after the return of Jolliet to Canada.²⁵

From the last entry, it appears that Jolliet did not spend all his time in Paris,²⁶ but remained quite a while at La Rochelle. In fact, according to the itemized list, he seems to have divided his time equally between the capital and the port. Whether he also went to

²² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 69-70. If the transcription of this document is correct, there is an error in the addition; the total should be 449 livres 10 sols, instead of 430 livres 10 sols.

²³ See the cost of the return voyage, the second last item, sixty livres in French money; this was the ordinary fare. Cf. *Observations faites par Talon*. . . , 1669, in *RAPQ*, 1931, 103, 105, 106.

²⁴ *Journal des Jésuites*, 351.

²⁵ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as *JR*, 52:42-50.

²⁶ I have discussed at length a document dubbed by Parkman a "remarkable memoir" of "unquestionable historical value," in *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 215-245. Upon examination this "monument" of impudence proved to be utterly worthless and containing little else than the wanderings of an unbalanced mind. In it Jolliet is said to be a Jesuit *donné*, and that he was sent to France by the Jesuits in 1677. On this occasion he supposedly brought to Paris a map "drawn from hearsay," and claimed the honor of having discovered the Mississippi. According to M. de Galinée—who allegedly gave this information to the author of the memoir—M. de la Salle was the only man in Canada capable of making such a discovery. Every statement in this passage of the "remarkable memoir" is false. Jolliet went to France in 1667, long before the discovery of the Mississippi; he never was a *donné*; neither in 1667 nor at the time of his second voyage, thirty years later, did Jolliet bring a map of the Mississippi to France; the map which he made in 1674 was not from hearsay, for he had actually descended the Mississippi nearly one thousand miles, and had re-ascended it five hundred miles; and this took place more than seven years before La Salle even saw the river. M. de Galinée who was dead at the time when this memoir was written could be quoted without fear of contradiction; unfortunately for the memorialist, he had left on record what he thought of La Salle's ability as an explorer.

Sézanne-en-Brie, the birth-place of his father,²⁷ we do not know; and as for the "special studies," it is difficult to see what they could have been and how he could have profitably engaged in studies of any kind during such a brief stay in Paris or in La Rochelle. He can hardly have reached Paris before January 1668, and he sailed for Canada, at the latest, in the beginning of August.

The length of time which he spent in France, is deduced from the second part of the itemized account. Although we do not know the date of his return to Quebec, he had already been there for some time by October 9, 1668; on this day he bought from Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye twelve ells of cloth, a hat, and two pairs of shoes. From the same merchant he also bought goods which give some indication of his future activities:

Trade goods, namely, two guns, two pistols, six packages of wampum; twenty-four hatchets; a gross of small bells; twelve ells of coarse cloth [*estoffes à l'iroquoise*]; ten ells of canvas; forty pounds of tobacco; cost, three hundred and fifty-four livres six sols.²⁸

This itemized account is dated October 14, 1668. In the last paragraph, Jolliet acknowledges that the money was advanced by Bishop Laval, whom he promised to repay. On their part, notes Gosselin, Jolliet's mother and his eldest brother helped him meet his obligations. On October 8, 1668, the bishop had bought a piece of land from the Jolliet estate for 2,400 livres; half of this sum was to be paid to Jolliet's mother, and 300 livres to each of the four children of Jean Jolliet: Adrien, Louis, Marie, and Zacharie. When the deed was drawn, Marie d'Abancourt had consented that, in order to reimburse himself, Laval could retain 180 livres from the installment payments of her share. On November 9, 1668, Adrien Jolliet sent the following note to Laval:

I agree that my Lord the Bishop of Petraea may hand over to my brother Louis Jolliet the 300 livres due to me as my share of the price of the land which was sold to him. In testimony thereof, I have signed the present note to serve him as receipt. Done at Cap-de-la-Madeleine, November 9, 1668. [Signed] Adrian Jolliet.²⁹

All the above financial help, writes Gosselin, was "to enable Jolliet to pay his debts, or to enable him to make the voyage of the Great Lakes which he was about to undertake." However, from the dates of these various documents and from other evidence to be

²⁷ J. B. A. Ferland, *Notes sur les registres de Notre-Dame de Québec*, Québec, 1863², 27.

²⁸ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 70.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

quoted presently, it is almost certain that Jolliet did not make his first western journey in 1668. We are sure that he was still in Quebec on October 14, 1668. The note of Adrien did not reach Quebec before the middle of November, and it is probable that Louis was still in Quebec at this date. But even if we suppose that he was with his brother at Cap-de-la-Madeleine on November 9, when the note was signed by Adrien, the season was too far advanced for him to leave for the West. In 1668 Louis Jolliet had not yet begun the strenuous apprenticeship of a voyageur. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that he would have made his first voyage to the West without his brother, who had gone to the Ottawa country at least twice before, and it is certain that Adrien was in Quebec on April 13, 1669.³⁰ Now, the journey by canoe from Montreal to the Sault took ordinarily from four to six weeks, and would take much longer in winter. Hence if Louis Jolliet actually went with his brother to the West in November 1668, he would have had just enough time to reach Sault Ste Marie by January 1669, and would have had to return immediately in order to be in Quebec before the middle of April. It should also be remembered that journeys from the West to Lower Canada in winter were very rare occurrences and were only undertaken in cases of the most urgent emergency.³¹

What Louis Jolliet did during 1668 and the early months of 1669 is difficult to say. A Jolliet is mentioned in a document of 1670 referring to events which took place in 1669, and it has been taken for granted that this was Louis; but as we shall see, the evidence for such identification is far from being conclusive.

In his narrative of the 1669-1670 expedition, Galinée mentions having met a "man named Jolliet" on the west shore of Lake Ontario. The antecedents of the expedition and the pertinent passages of the narrative are worth examining here, because they explain the uncertainty which arises concerning the identity of the Jolliet encountered by the Sulpician missionary.

MM. Dollier and Galinée having left Montreal on July 6, 1669, were camping near Tinawatawa, at the western end of Lake Ontario, in the latter part of September. Here they learned that two Frenchmen had arrived at the village we were going to; they were

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

³¹ Cf. "Narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1689, 1690," in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 463; C. C. Le Roy de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique . . .*, 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1723, III, 60-61; P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl., 6 volumes, New York, 1866-1872, IV, 54.

coming from the Ottawa and were taking back an Iroquois prisoner belonging to the latter.

This news surprised us, because we did not think that there was any Frenchman in service in that direction. . . . At last we arrived at Tinawatawa on the 24th of September and found that the Frenchman who had arrived the day before was a man named Jolliet (un nommé Jolliet) who had left Montreal shortly before us with a fleet of four canoes loaded with goods for the Ottawa, and had orders from the governor to go as far as Lake Superior to discover where the copper mine was; so pure is the copper ore that samples of it which are here scarcely need refining. After finding this mine he was to find out an easier route than the ordinary one to transport it to Montreal. M. Jolliet had not been able to see this mine because time pressed for his return.³²

He had found Iroquois prisoners among the Ottawa, and was bringing one of them back home to his own country as a token of the peace which the Ottawa wished to have with the Iroquois. "This Iroquois showed M. Jolliet a new route, heretofore unknown to the French, from the Ottawa to the Iroquois country." Had it not been for the Indian's fear of falling into the hands of the Conestoga, the party could have traveled by water as far as Lake Ontario; the only portage necessary would have been at Niagara Falls. As it was, the fear of the Iroquois prisoner forced Jolliet "to travel fifty leagues overland and to abandon his canoe on the shore of Lake Erie." Besides informing the missionaries of this new route, *i. e.*, via Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and Erie,³³ Jolliet also told them "that he had sent some of his party in search of a very numerous nation of Ottawa called the Potawatomi, amongst whom there had never been any missionaries, and that this tribe bordered on the Iskoutegas and the great river that led to the Shawnee." The Sulpicians determined to take this route, especially since "M. Jolliet offered us a description he had made of his route from the Ottawa, which I [Galinée]

³² Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 7485:16. The document—a copy—is printed in P. Margy, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, 112-166; French text and English translation on opposite pages in J. H. Coyne, Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, IV, part I; this English version was reissued by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, C. 1917, 167-209. In these publications Galinée is made to say: "qui étoit parti avant nous de Montreal," whereas the manuscript has "qui étoit parti un peu avant nous de Montreal."

³³ Cf. Description du Canada et de ce qui sy trouve d'avantageux tant pour les intérêts de Sa Majesté que pour ceux des colonies françaises qui y sont établie [sic]. 1671 Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 3:193.

accepted, and I translated it immediately into a *carte marine*,³⁴ which gave us a good deal of information about our way"

When La Salle, who was with the Sulpician missionaries at this time, saw that they were determined to follow the route indicated by Jolliet, he "begged to be excused for leaving them so as to return to Montreal." La Salle left Dollier and Galinée at Tinawatawa on September 30; we have no record of his movements until the summer of the following year, 1670, when Nicolas Perrot met him hunting with some Frenchmen and Iroquois on the Ottawa River.³⁵ As for Jolliet, we do not know when he left for the Iroquois country; hence we do not know whether he was at Tinawatawa on September 30, or whether he left with La Salle on that date. All that we know for certain is that on November 11, 1669, he had not yet reached Quebec.

In order to point out the difficulties that present themselves against identifying the Jolliet met by Dollier and Galinée with the discoverer of the Mississippi, we shall first inquire into the purpose for which this Jolliet was sent to the West.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the discovery of mines in North America was for a long time an obsession with the French. If they had known that rich, easily worked mines of precious metals were thousands of miles away, it is doubtful whether they would have made any great effort to establish themselves permanently in Canada. In the middle of the seventeenth century, although French officials had not as yet given up hopes of finding gold and silver mines near at hand, they seem to have thought that until such mines were discovered, they would do well to exploit the copper mines which they knew existed on the shores of Lake Superior.

In the Relation of 1659-1660, published in Paris in 1661, a Jesuit, thought to be Father Gabriel Druillettes, speaks of having met on the Saguenay River an Indian who gave a glowing account of the mines around Lake Superior, where there were mines of lead nearly pure, and copper mines of such excellence that "pieces as large as one's fist are found, all refined; and great rocks having veins of turquoise [*i. e.*, amethyst]. They also try to make us believe that the waters of Lake Superior are swollen by various streams which carried along with the sand grains of gold in abundance—the refuse, so to

³⁴ From Galinée's description at the very end of his narrative, it appears that by *carte marine* he means one of the cylindrical projections, very probably the equal-spaced or plate-carrée projection.

³⁵ *Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale* par Nicolas Perrot, J. Tailhan, ed., Leipzig and Paris, 1864, 120.

speak, of the neighboring mines."³⁶ There is also a long dissertation on these mines in the Relation of 1669-1670. Its author, Father Claude Dablon, wrote that in 1667, a huge piece of copper weighing one hundred pounds "was given to us," *scl.* to Father Allouez. This copper came from a place near the mouth of the Nantounagan [Ontoganon] River. Some fragments were cut off and "sent to Quebec to Monsieur Talon."³⁷ The intendant speaks of these samples in his letter to Colbert of October 27, 1667:

A Jesuit Father who came this year from the Ottawa country brought a small piece of copper, extracted, so he assures me, from a rock which he saw several times in Lake Huron;³⁸ but the distance from here to there is so great that one does not dare to expect great advantages therefrom. The copper, he says, is very pure and very abundant. The piece is being brought to you that you may judge of its purity.³⁹

The Jesuit Father in question was Claude Allouez, who had left Three Rivers on August 8, 1665, with western Indians,⁴⁰ and had spent two winters at Chequamigon. In May 1667, he left the latter place for Lake Nipigon,⁴¹ and arrived in Quebec on August 3.⁴² In his journal, published in the Relation of 1666-1667, when speaking of the shores of Lake Superior, he says that "one often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper, of ten and twenty livres' weight."⁴³ He also mentions a large rock of copper which had been seen sticking out of the water; "however, when I passed by that spot, nothing more was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which here are very frequent, and those at sea—have covered the rock with sand."⁴⁴

The existence of such a rich copper mine in "Lake Huron," in spite of its distance from Quebec, was good news to Talon. In the instructions given him when he first came to Canada, the king had expressed the hope that copper, lead and iron mines would be discovered.⁴⁵ The company which then controlled the trade of the

³⁶ JR, 45:218-220.

³⁷ JR, 54:162.

³⁸ This is inaccurate, the "rock" of copper had been seen in Lake Superior.

³⁹ "On vous porte ce morceau pour que vous en connoissiez le carac." Talon to Colbert, October 27, 1667, RAPQ, 1931, 80.

⁴⁰ Allouez' journal in JR, 50:248; the *Journal des Jésuites*, 333, has August 7.

⁴¹ JR, 51:64-70.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 72; the *Journal des Jésuites*, 356, has August 4.

⁴³ JR, 50:264.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

⁴⁵ *Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction a M. Talon*, March 27, 1665, RAPQ, 1931, 19.

colony had sent a German expert to assay the ore on the spot. Talon's personal interest in mines may be gathered from the fact that on his way up the St. Lawrence in 1665, he made several landings, in order to do some prospecting. He collected samples of marcasite, showed them to the German expert, and was told that "there was gold and silver where these samples had been found."⁴⁶ The ore sent to France to be melted was found worthless.⁴⁷ Talon kept on looking for coal and copper mines around Quebec,⁴⁸ but with just as little success.⁴⁹ It was during this ineffectual search that Allouez brought the copper samples from Lake Superior. After each of his failures, Colbert had encouraged the intendant, assuring Talon that he would meet with better success next time. And in his answer to the letter saying that the ore brought by Allouez was being sent to Paris, the minister replied that if there really was copper in Lake Huron, and if it could be easily mined, it would be something well worth following up; but, he said, the means of bringing the ore to Quebec should be carefully considered.⁵⁰

Talon received this letter of Colbert in the summer of 1668. Before leaving New France in November, he appointed two men to "make sure whether there was copper in Lake Huron," and gave them a substantial subsidy.⁵¹ Now, we know that Louis Jolliet returned from Europe in the summer of 1668 and that he was in Quebec on October 14 of that year. It is difficult to believe that the intendant would have selected for the expedition a young man only twenty-three years old who had left the seminary the year before and who had been out of the country ever since. He would more likely have chosen Adrien Jolliet, Louis' brother, who was a veteran voyageur. Furthermore, as we shall see presently, the Jolliet who was sent to investigate the copper mine was paid 400 livres; and at this very time Louis Jolliet acknowledges having been advanced 350 livres by Bishop Laval to equip himself and to buy trade goods. On November 11, 1669, Patoulet, acting for Talon, wrote to Colbert as follows:

The Sieurs Jolliet and Péré, to whom M. Talon paid 400 livres and

⁴⁶ Talon to Colbert, October 4, 1665, *ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁷ Colbert to Talon, April 6, 1666, *ibid.*, 43.

⁴⁸ Talon to Colbert, November 13, 1666, *ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁹ Colbert to Talon, April 4, 1667, *ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, February 20, 1668, *ibid.*, 97.

⁵¹ The reason why this sum of money is not mentioned in the itemized account of expenses for 1668, is because it was taken from the funds set aside for the "despenses extraordinaires." Cf. Talon's memoir of 1669, *ibid.*, 107.

1,000 livres, respectively, in order that they might go and find out whether the copper mine, which is beyond Lake Ontario and of which you have seen some samples, is rich and easy to exploit, and whether the ore can easily be brought here, have not yet returned. The former should have been back here any day during the whole of last September, and yet, even now, we have no news whatever of him, so that it is necessary to wait until next year before giving you definite information as to how productive the said mine can be expected to be.⁵²

The Péré mentioned by Patoulet was Jean Péré, who, like Adrien Jolliet, was a veteran western trader.⁵³ We know that he spent the winter of 1667-1668 in the West, for on January 31 of the latter year, he and his partners merged their company with that of five other traders who were then in the Ottawa country.⁵⁴ From the letter written by Patoulet in 1669 and by Talon in 1670, it is clear that the Jolliet mentioned by the former is the same to whom Galinée refers in his narrative. He had left Montreal "shortly before us," says the Sulpician. Since Patoulet had been expecting him in Quebec "any day during the whole of the month of September," and since the journey to Sault Ste Marie took about four or six weeks, this Jolliet must have left Montreal sometime in June. Now it is certain that Adrien Jolliet was in Quebec on April 13, 1669, for in a receipt of this date he declared that he "had his domicile at Three Rivers."⁵⁵

The Jolliet who was expected in Quebec in September was still at the western end of Lake Ontario at the end of that month. In view of the fact that he was bringing back an Iroquois prisoner, he can hardly have failed to pass through the Iroquois country. To go from Hamilton, Ontario, even by way of the Iroquois country, certainly did not require six weeks; and as we know from Galinée, Jolliet was especially anxious to return to Quebec as soon as possible. But on November 11, he had not as yet arrived in Quebec, and Talon makes no mention of him in his letter of November 10, 1670. There is no doubt that Jolliet would have reported to the authorities as soon as he reached Quebec, for he was returning from an official mission, and had found a new route which avoid the rapids of the Ottawa River,—a matter of such importance that as soon as Talon heard of this route he reported it to Colbert.

⁵² Patoulet to Colbert, November 11, 1669, Margry, I, 81.

⁵³ Cf. P[ierre]-G[eorges] R[oy], "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1905, 213-221.

⁵⁴ *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 634-635.

⁵⁵ Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 75.

The silence of Talon in his letter of November 10, 1670, and the fact that there is no record of Jolliet's return to Quebec later on, can only be explained by the fact that he was dead at that time. Hence this Jolliet must have been Adrien and not Louis. The exact date of Adrien's death is unknown. One thing is certain: he was no longer alive on September 12, 1671,⁵⁶ and, as we shall see, there are good reasons to believe that he died before or during the summer of 1670.⁵⁷

Finally, if the Jolliet mentioned by Talon were really Louis, his failure to report to Quebec on this occasion would hardly have inspired Talon to commission him in 1672 to find out where the great river of the west emptied its waters.

The earliest positive evidence of Louis Jolliet's presence in the West is dated June 1671. By following the events between September 1669 and this date, we shall try to ascertain when he began his career of explorer.

In the instructions given to Talon before leaving France for his second term as intendant of Canada, the king urged him to continue the search for iron, lead, copper, and tin mines, telling him "to con-

⁵⁶ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 71 and 75.

⁵⁷ With regard to the place where Adrien died, Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 75, quotes from a memoir analyzed at length elsewhere, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 176 ff. The passage reads: "The burial of the brother of Jolliet [this can only be Adrien] who died while in the service of the Sieur de la Salle and who was buried during his absence cost him 53 livres." BN, Clairambault, 1016:44. We must note that this memoir was written at least five years after the event, and that it contains too many inaccuracies—not to use a harsher word—to take for granted such assertions as are not supported by independent evidence. Thus it is difficult to believe that in October 1669, La Salle hired Adrien Jolliet who was on his way to Quebec, while La Salle himself was wandering in the Lake Ontario region until the following summer. Although Bernou, the author of the memoir, does not specify the place where Adrien Jolliet died, he is speaking of Quebec in this passage, and is contrasting the cost of burial in the church with the cost of burial in the cemetery. Adrien Jolliet's name, however, does not appear in the extant burial lists of Quebec. Cf. P.-G. Roy, *Les cimetières de Québec*, Lévis, 1941. As for Adrien Jolliet being buried in Montreal, Gosselin's arguments are invalid; they are based on gratuitous suppositions or are contradicted by positive evidence. It is more probable that he died at Cap-de-la-Madeleine or at Three Rivers.

While this article was in the press, I received volumes III and IV of the *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, A. Roy, ed., Quebec, 1943. On page 54 of vol. III is the following entry: "Obligation de Jeanne Dodié, veuve Adrien Jolliet, à Jacques de la Mothe (20 septembre 1670)." As is at once apparent, this document 1) bears out what I say here and below with regard to the date of Adrien's death; and 2) confirms the deduction that the Jolliet whom Galinée met at Tinawatawa was Adrien and not Louis.

sider this work as most important for the prosperity of Canada."⁵⁸ In a marginal note of November 1670, Talon says that he has sent men to discover copper mines, and less than two weeks after his arrival in 1670, he had already notified Colbert that "the iron-master swears that the iron mine which I showed him is excellent."⁵⁹ In the same letter he notes that a Sulpician [M. de Galinée] had made a journey "far to the west." One of the immediate results of this voyage was the knowledge of "a river [the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair] I was looking for, which joins Lake Ontario to Lake Huron, where the copper mine is said to be."

In a long memoir added to his letter of November 10, 1670, Talon informs Colbert that he had sent St. Luson to the west, instructing him to go as far as he could toward the setting sun, and ordering him to look for some waterway which would lead to the "Sea of the South which separates this continent from China; but only after he had given his first attention to the discovery of copper mines which is the main object of the expedition, and after having ascertained the accuracy of the memoirs which have been given him."⁶⁰

From the above it is clear that the discovery of the route to the Sea of the South was only a secondary consideration. St. Luson states in the *procès-verbal* that he was sent by Talon "to seek and find mines of all sorts, but especially the copper mine." The "memoirs" given to St. Luson by Talon were very probably a copy of the chapter on copper mines of Lake Superior in the *Relation* of 1669-1670, the manuscript of which had certainly reached Quebec when Talon arrived in August 1670.⁶¹

In the same memoir to Colbert, Talon refers as follows to the previous Péré-Jolliet expedition:

I have not been able to figure out why or by what machinations I failed to find here on my arrival the information which I expected from the Sieur

⁵⁸ *Mémoire succinct* . . . , May 18, 1669, RAPQ, 1931, 112.

⁵⁹ Talon to Colbert, August 29, 1670, *ibid.*, 117.

⁶⁰ Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, *ibid.*, 136.

⁶¹ Dollier and Galinée reached Montreal, June 18, 1670, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 208, after Perrot and the Ottawa, *ibid.*, 206, *Mémoire sur les Moeurs*, 120. In his narrative Galinée wrote that "a Jesuit brother who descended after us" wrecked his canoe in the rapids of the Ottawa River. This "Jesuit brother" was probably one of the *donnés* who generally acted as couriers; cf. *Lettres de la Venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation première Supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1681, letter lxxxii to her son, September 1, 1669, 640.

Péré who was sent [to the West] last year [1669], with a gratuity of more than one hundred *pistoles*. This fellow Péré did not come back, but remained with the [Jesuit] Fathers, who have a mission in the Ottawa country, whence he writes very obscurely. This gives rise to the suspicion that his explorations may have been interfered with, and that he has been prevented from sending an unalloyed report.⁶²

The French wording of this passage makes clear Talon's implications, which, incidentally, are quite unfounded: "Ce qui donne lieu de douter qu'on n'ait retardé les connoissances qu'il devoit prendre de cette mine, et empesché qu'il ne communiquast ses lumieres dans leur pureté." "On" in this case can only mean the Jesuits, who had made known to Talon himself, three years earlier, the existence of copper mines in Lake Superior. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they would interfere with Péré's explorations, or prevent him from sending an "unalloyed" report. As M. Roy observes, the reason why Péré remained at Sault Ste Marie was very likely because he considered "trade more profitable than scientific investigations" of mines.⁶³ Furthermore, when St. Lusson returned to Quebec late in the summer of 1671⁶⁴ and brought back in person an "unalloyed" report without having been delayed by the machinations of "on," there was nothing in his report that had not already been recorded in greater detail in the Relation of 1669-1670.⁶⁵

St. Lusson left Montreal so late in 1670, that he was unable to reach Sault Ste Marie that year.⁶⁶ Forced to spend the winter on Lake Huron, he arrived at the Sault at the beginning of May 1671, and there, on June 4, he took solemn possession of the West in the name of the King of France. It would lead us too far afield

⁶² Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136-137.

⁶³ Roy, "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1904, 215.

⁶⁴ He arrived at Quebec before August 26, 1671. Cf. "Saisie d'une chaloupe et pelleterie a la Req. de François Daumont Sr de St Lusson, contre Nicolas Perrot et ses associés venant du Outaouak," September 3, 1671. This is one of the three documents relating to this seizure; the bundle is listed in P. G. Roy, *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces . . . conservées aux Archives judiciaires de Québec*, 2 volumes, Beauceville, 1917, I, 13, no. 96.

⁶⁵ Cf. Talon's memoir to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 158-159.

⁶⁶ "Je party donc avec le Sr. de Saint Lusson son [Talon's] subdélégué, et nous arrivâmes à Montréal, où nous restâmes jusqu'au commencement du mois d'octobre [1670]. Nous fumes contraints, dans le voyage, d'hiverner chez les Amikouëts; . . ." *Memoirs sur les Moeurs . . .*, 126; and cf. JR, 55:106.

to analyze the procès-verbaux drawn up on this occasion;⁶⁷ what concerns us here is the list of the witnesses of the ceremony.⁶⁸

Two of these witnesses, Jacques Maugras⁶⁹ and Jacques Largilier, *dit* Le Castor⁷⁰, had been previously associated with Adrien Jolliet. On April 20, 1666, they had signed a contract of partnership with Adrien setting forth the conditions "touchant le voyage qu'ils sont prests de faire pour les Oustahak."⁷¹ Largilier and two other witnesses, Pierre Moreau *dit* La Taupine⁷² and François de Chavigny, were among the associates of Louis Jolliet in a contract of October

⁶⁷ The procès-verbal in AC, C 11A, 9:292-293v is a copy tacked on at the end of a "Memoire sur la domination des françois en Canada jusqu'en 1687," ff. 260-291; a few lines were added to this memoir after 1706. The whole document printed in NYCD, IX, 781-804, is entitled "Memoir on the French Dominion in Canada 1507-1706"; the procès-verbal is on pp. 803-804. The original procès-verbal, says the editor of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XI, 26, "is in Margry I, 96-99," adding that the translation which he reprints "is from NYCD, IX, 803-804 with some errors of nomenclature corrected." Margry printed the copy in AC, and Gagnon reprinted it in *Louis Jolliet*, 49-54. In the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, cf. H. Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, Paris, 1913, 63, there is another copy made by Father Tailhan on the copy in the "Archives de la Marine," today in AC. Tailhan printed it in his edition of Perrot's *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, 292-294, but left out the names of the witnesses. Cf. A.-L. Leymarie, *Catalogue Illustré*, Paris, 1929, 277. Tailhan has "July 3 last [1670]," as the date of Talon's order to St. Lusson instead of September 3. Talon could not have ordered St. Lusson to go to the West on July 3, for the intendant arrived at Quebec on August 18. The procès-verbal is dated June 14; Dablon, however, wrote out the date when the ceremony took place: "le quatrième de Juin." JR, 55:106.

There is a copy of an earlier, much shorter, procès-verbal of the prise de possession in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, *Mémoires et Documents*, Amérique, 5:283; a transcription of it by a professional copyist is in the same volume, ff. 282-282v. It is dated May 16, 1671, the day after the Indians had assembled at Sault Ste Marie; it is signed by St. Lusson, and there is no question of witnesses. According to the *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, 127, Perrot arrived at the Sault on May 5, and according to Dablon, St. Lusson reached the mission "au commencement de May." JR, 55:106.

⁶⁸ Strictly speaking the names in the list are not signatures. For instance, Jolliet would not sign his name "le sieur Jolliet," but "L. Jolliet" or "Jolliet"; "le sieur" was added by the copyist, just as he added "sieur" before the name of Nicolas Perrot.

⁶⁹ On the June procès-verbal, his name is spelled as he himself signs it, "Mogras," on various contemporary documents.

⁷⁰ He signed his name "Lagillier." He first became a Jesuit *donné* and was afterwards admitted into the Society of Jesus. He is the "Iacque" mentioned in Marquette's journal, JR, 59:164.

⁷¹ Gunther Collection in the Chicago Historical Society Library.

⁷² "Pierre Moreau, sieur de la Taupine," in Margry; "d[i]t de la Toupine," in NYCD, IX, 804. "Moreau (Pierre) sieur de la Taupine, qui se marie à Québec en 1677, signait 'pierre moreau dit Latopine,' en 1694." Philéas Gagnon, "Noms propres au Canada-Français," BRH, XV, 1909, 148. The "*dit*" is correct; La Taupine (from taupe : mole) was his nickname. On La Taupine, cf. "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1904, 219-221.

1, 1672. Before the names of any of these, under that of Nicolas Perrot, on this list, appears "le sieur Jolliet."

That this Jolliet is Louis and not Adrien will appear from an analysis of a previously unpublished document which is printed in full at the end of this article (Appendix A); although undated, it was certainly written before July 6, 1674. Besides identifying Jolliet as Louis, this and another document also published at the end of this article (Appendix B), confirm our previous identification of Adrien Jolliet, besides giving a closer approximation of the date of Adrien's death.⁷³

After the death of her first husband, Adrien Jolliet, Jeanne Dodier had married one Antoine Baillargé, sometime before October 1671. Hardly anything is known about Baillargé, except that he was at Cap-de-la-Madeleine the following February and was apparently still alive when Louis Jolliet left for the West in October 1672.⁷⁴ The date of his death, and the date of Jeanne Dodier's

⁷³ These documents are in the Gunther Collection of the Chicago Historical Society; permission to print them was kindly granted by Mr. L. Hubbard Shattuck, the Director of the Chicago Historical Society. They are listed in the *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 volumes, Ottawa, I, xxxiv, and are also listed as being among the papers of Bénigne Basset, P.-G. and A. Roy, *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, 2 volumes, Quebec, 1942, I, 226-227. Without giving any proof for his statement, B. Sulte says that the Jolliet who witnessed the procès-verbal at the Sault was Adrien, not Louis, "Les français dans l'Ouest en 1671," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XII, 1918, section 1, 19. But, comments L. P. Kellogg, "a document of September 12, 1671, shows that Adrien was then deceased, after service with La Salle. So the trader at the Sault in 1671 was in all probability Louis." *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 188, note 14. Of itself the document of September 12, 1671, in which Louis speaks of his brother as being dead, does not prove that the "sieur Jolliet" who witnessed the procès-verbal is Louis. Adrien could have been at the Sault in June 1671 and in Quebec by mid-July, that is, two months before the date when he is reported dead. Thus Dablon, who had been present at the prise de possession on June 4, was installed rector of the college of Quebec on July 12. Cf. "Claude Dablon, S.J., 1619-1697," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 100. And St. Lussan, who after the ceremony went to the Otonagon River, (Talon to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 159; manuscript map of Lake Superior, Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique, B 4044-73; La Potherie, II, 130) was in Quebec on August 26, and Perrot arrived there a week later; *supra*, note 64.

⁷⁴ Shortly after the archivist of Three Rivers discovered the papers of Jean Cusson, the notary of Cap-de-la-Madeleine, an article was published simultaneously in the *Revue Canadienne*, XLVI, 1904, 62-65, "Le Greffe du Notaire Jean Cusson," by J. L. Desaulniers, and in BRH, X, 1904, 51-56, "Le Greffe de Jean Cusson," by F. L. Desaulniers, by the same author in spite of the different first initials. The importance of these papers for the history of Cap-de-la-Madeleine between 1660 and 1680 is stressed by the author of these articles because the earliest entries in the church registers

third marriage to Mathurin Normandin *dit* Beausoleil, have not been ascertained.

At the end of June or the beginning of July, 1674, as soon as he heard of Louis Jolliet's arrival in Montreal from Sault Ste Marie, Normandin had papers served on the explorer. From these papers it appears that Louis Jolliet and his brother Adrien had drawn up a partnership contract in 1670, and that in 1672 Louis had "obtained his trade permit [congé] the *second time* he went to the Ottawa country," solely in order to bring back pelts belonging to the partners which had been left in the West in 1671. To enable him to fetch these pelts, Jeanne Dodier loaned a canoe. For this canoe Normandin demands that Louis Jolliet should pay rent, because he "made use of it for himself and for the benefit of his new company."

The "second time" that Jolliet went to the Ottawa country refers to his voyage of 1672-1674 during which the Mississippi was discovered. The question is: when did he go to the West for the "first time"? Since he was at Sault Ste Marie in May-June 1671, he must have left Lower Canada in 1670, before the departure of the St. Luson party, and he very likely spent the winter of that year at the Sault. This seems to be confirmed by a passage in the memoir of Nicolas Perrot, in which the latter says that the *procès-verbal* of June 1671 was signed by "Frenchmen who were trading in those parts."⁷⁵ Since Adrien Jolliet did not go to the West with his younger brother in 1670, we are justified in concluding that he died sometime between the date of the contract made that year and the date of the departure of the party for Sault Ste Marie early in the summer of 1670.

It is certain that Louis Jolliet was in Quebec on September 12,

are dated 1673. In Jean Cusson's papers Desaulniers found the marriage contract of one of his forbears. Among the parents and friends who signed the contract on October 11, 1671, we find: "le Sieur Antoine *Lefebvre* et Dame Jeanne Dodier sa femme," according to the version published in the *Revue Canadienne*; and "le sieur Antoine *Boulanger* et Dame Jeanne Dodier sa femme," according to the version published in BRH. There must be an error of transcription, for Jeanne Dodier, the widow of Adrien Jolliet, cannot have been the wife of two different men at the same time. I did not see the original of the marriage contract, but in the original notarial act of 1674, there is no doubt whatever that the name of Jeanne Dodier's second husband is *Baillargé*. Since in both articles his first name is the same, I concluded that his full name was Antoine Baillargé. This identification is confirmed by the fact that on February 15, 1672,—that is, four months after the date of the marriage contract,—an inhabitant of Cap-de-la-Madeleine, named Antoine Baillargé, was fined 100 sols for gambling. BRH, XXV, 1919, 170.

⁷⁵ *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, . . . , 128.

1671, after his return from the West, but what he did and where he went between this date and October 1, 1672, had not been ascertained.⁷⁶ On the latter date he was again in Quebec, as can be seen from the following notarial act:

Before Gilles Rageot, notary, . . . were present the Sieur Louis Jolliet, François Chavigny, escuyer, Sieur de la Chevrotière, Zacharie Jolliet, Jean Plattier, Pierre Moreau, Jacques Largilier, Jean Tiberge, all now in this town, who of their own free will have entered into partnership and society to make together the voyage to the Ottawa country, [there to] trade with the Indians as profitably as possible, each and all binding themselves *en droit soy* [?]. [Since they are] leaving tomorrow for the said voyage, therefore the said Sieur Louis Jolliet promises and binds himself to furnish at his expense and cost all the merchandise, [all the] appropriate and suitable goods to carry on the said trade, and as much as they can take along with them; similarly [Louis Jolliet binds himself to furnish] suitable victuals to the said Sieurs Chavigny, Zacharie Jolliet, Plattier, Moreau, Largilier and Tiberge, . . . and when returning from the said voyage, all beaver, otter, marten, and moose pelts acquired from the said trade, as well as any other pelts that may be had, will be shared as follows: half of all the said pelts will be divided into seven shares, a share each, and the other half will be for the said Sieur Jolliet, because he is paying for the said merchandise, goods, and victuals as well as for the canoes; [this half] is over and above his share [of one seventh of the half] which he will have like the others, as said above. Also if it is necessary to make presents to the Indians during the voyage, and if some presents are received [in return], these will similarly be shared as said above, as well as [the money proceeding from the sale of] the canoes after their return, namely: half, as for the said pelts, and the other half [to be divided] into seven shares. . . . Done and drawn up in the said Quebec in the forenoon in the house of M[ess]i[r]e Jacques de Cailhault, escuyer, Sieur de la Tesserie,⁷⁷ royal councillor in the king's Sovereign Council in New France, the first day of October 1672, in the presence of Jean Mainguy and of Baptiste Morin, witnesses, who with the contractants and the notary have signed [this act], except the said Tiberge who, upon being formally asked as required by law, declared that he did not know how to write nor how to sign his name.

Jolliet — François de Chavigny — Pierre Moreau — Plattier —
Zacarie Jolliet — Morin — Jacque Largillier — J. Mainguy — Rageot.

On October 3, 1672, Louis Jolliet again appeared before the same notary declaring that the share of Chavigny and his brother's share in one half of the trade profits would be proportioned to their

⁷⁶ Jolliet had been in Quebec at least since the beginning of September; for it is clear from Frontenac's letter of November 2, 1672, AC, C 11A, 3:243v, (this passage is inaccurately reproduced in RAPQ, 1927, 18), that the intendant had chosen Jolliet before the arrival of the governor on September 7 or 8, 1672.

⁷⁷ Jacques de Cailhault, Sieur de la Tesserie, was the step-father of François de Chavigny.

investments, and not merely be one seventh as in the case of the other partners whose contribution consisted solely in their services during the journey.⁷⁸

From this second document we learn that Jolliet was still in Quebec on October 3; and from the first document we know the names of six of those who were about to leave with him for the Ottawa country. By means of this latter item we shall try to give a tentative solution to a problem which, to the best of our knowledge, has thus far been left unsolved; namely, who were the members of the expedition of 1673? We know that seven men took part in the discovery of the Mississippi, and we know the names of two of them: Jolliet and Marquette. The question is: who were the other five?

Of the seven men mentioned in the notarial act of October 1, 1672, it is certain that Chavigny did not take part in the Mississippi voyage, because, although he may have left Quebec in October 1672, he was certainly on the Lower St. Lawrence in 1673, for he was with Frontenac at Catarocouy in July of that year;⁷⁹ that is, at the time when Jolliet and his six companions were on the Mississippi. It is practically certain that Largilier accompanied him to the Mississippi.⁸⁰ Again, in virtue of the contract of October 1, 1672, Jolliet

⁷⁸ The originals of these two documents are among the papers of Gilles Rageot. A copy of both is in the Archives de la Province de Québec, Collection Pierre-Georges Roy, Carton Louis Jolliet. A copy of these copies was kindly sent to the present writer by Dr. Guy Frégault, formerly of the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

While this article was being printed, I received *Toutes petites choses du Régime Français*, première série, by P.-G. Roy, Quebec 1944. Referring to the names of Jolliet's associates as found in the act of October 1, 1672, M. Roy asks: "N'avons-nous pas là les noms des braves qui firent la découverte du Mississippi avec Jolliet?" (p. 201). By itself, the fact that they were Jolliet's partners does not prove that they went to the Mississippi with him. As I show in the text it is unlikely that Zacharie Jolliet accompanied his brother in the 1673 voyage of discovery, and it is certain that François de Chavigny was not one of the seven men that took part in the expedition.

⁷⁹ "Journal of Count de Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673," NYCD, IX, 113. From a notarial act of April 7, 1674, we know that he was in Quebec on this day; cf. Quebec, Archives judiciaires, Greffe Becquet.

⁸⁰ We say "practically certain," because his name is not specified in the document quoted below. After speaking with the two men who had assisted Marquette in his last moments, Father Cholenec wrote as follows in his letter of October 10, 1675: "Le R. P. Supérieur des Missions des Outaouacs . . . luy [Marquette] envoya . . . deux de nos domestiques [Jacques Largilier and Pierre Porteret] qui se sont donnés à nos missions dont l'un avoit fait le voiage avec luy, pour le prendre à la baye des Puans . . ." C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, III, 607. The reason for saying that the man who had made the Mississippi voyage is Largilier is because Jolliet had hired him in Quebec.

had full control over Moreau, Plattier, and Tiberge. Since it seems quite improbable that he would have hired three new hands at Sault Ste Marie or at Michilimackinac, we can be reasonably sure of six of the seven men who took part in the discovery of the Mississippi: Louis Jolliet, Jacques Marquette, Jacques Largilier, Pierre Moreau, Jean Plattier, and Jean Tiberge.

In the contract of October 1, 1672, the name of Louis' brother, Zacharie Jolliet, also occurs; but there is reason to think that he was not the seventh member of the expedition of 1673. Although Jolliet is very reticent when it comes to giving the names of those who accompanied him in his journeys,⁸¹ yet he would hardly pass over, it seems, the fact that his brother had taken part in the discovery of the Mississippi. Moreover, when Jolliet set out to find the great river, it is unlikely that he would have left unguarded the pelts which had been gathered during the past winter as well as those which had been left at Sault Ste Marie in 1671. It must have occurred to him that it would be safer to leave his forge, the merchandise, and the pelts in the keeping of his brother, who had invested money in the enterprise, than to leave a comparative stranger in charge while he went in search of the Mississippi. This deduction is seemingly borne out by what happened the following year. At the beginning of June 1674, when Louis Jolliet left Sault Ste Marie to return to Quebec, his companions dispersed to various places: Moreau went to the Illinois country; Largilier went to Green Bay; the other two, Plattier and Tiberge, returned to Quebec later in the summer; but Zacharie Jolliet remained in the West, probably at Sault Ste Marie.

To sum up, then, we are certain of the identity of two of the seven men who took part in the expedition of 1673: Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette; we have good probability with regard to the identity of four more: Jacques Largilier, Pierre Moreau, Jean Plattier, and Jean Tiberge. As for the unknown seventh, he may have been one of the two men who were drowned in the rapids above Montreal while returning with Jolliet in 1674. Perhaps some more fortunate investigator may discover positive evidence to disprove or confirm the above reasoning about the identity of the obscure pioneers who under the leadership of Jolliet took part in the discovery of the Mississippi.

We saw that Mathurin Normandin *dit* Beausoleil, as soon as he had heard that Jolliet was in Montreal, demanded that the claims of

⁸¹ In the extant accounts of his travels only one man is mentioned by name.

his wife, Jeanne Dodier, be submitted to arbitration. Louis Jolliet agreed to compromise and on July 6, 1674, an amicable settlement was arrived at before Bénigne Basset, the royal notary of Montreal. This settlement was submitted to two members of the Sovereign Council then in town, who were chosen as arbiters of the case. Their decision, rendered July 7, 1674, is also printed at the end of this article (Appendix B).

On the verso of the document containing this decision there is a declaration by Normandin and his wife before the same notary that Jolliet, in conformity to the above verdict of the arbiters, has given them satisfaction. This declaration was "fait et passé aud. Montreal en la maison du Sr Jacques Le Ber, Marchand, L'an gbj^c soixante quatorse le vingt . . ."; at this point the document is torn, and hence gives no clue to the month in which it was written. The important fact, however, is that the document refers to Jolliet as absent.

Whatever may have been the date of this declaration, it is certain that Jolliet was still in Montreal on July 13, 1674, and we also know that he had been in Quebec for some time before August 1. Two months later, he appeared before the Sovereign Council as defendant in a suit brought against him by Éléonore de Grandmaison, the mother of François de Chavigny, the wife of Jacques Cailhaut de la Tesserie, in whose house the contract of October 1, 1672, had been signed. This lady's husband having died in 1673, she now claimed a share of the profits made by Jolliet in the Ottawa country, on the ground that she had contributed 300 livres toward financing the expedition. On October 1, 1674, the plaintiff secured an order from the Sovereign Council that the defendant produce the contract and other papers tending to show that she was really entitled to a share in these profits, and on October 3, the case was tried before the Council. Among the exhibits were the following documents:

The partnership contract drawn up before Rageot, notary, on October 1, 1672, between the said defendant [Louis Jolliet], François de Chavigny, Zacharie Jolliet, the said parties to the suit [Jean Plattier and Jean Tiberge], Pierre Moreau, and Jacques Largilier, to make the voyage to the Ottawa country and to trade there;⁸² a note of the said defendant of the third of the said month and year by which it appears that the expenses of the voyage amount to three thousand livres, and that each of the partners were to receive a profit of three hundred livres, and had also bound themselves to pay the Sieur Chartier 300 livres on their return from the said trading expedition; below this note is the receipt of the said Chartier of the second of this month; another note of the said defendant of the fourth day of the said

⁸² This is the document printed *supra*, p. 21.

month and year by which he acknowledges that the said plaintiff has contributed three hundred livres, the share of one man, to the common fund, from which she was to have half the profits of one share, the whole profit being divided into as many parts as there are partners; another note of the defendant signed by him but undated, wherein he declares that he made no contract with the said Chartier and the Demoiselle de la Tesserie; a request of the said Plattier signed by himself and unanswered; a memorandum of the plaintiff containing her complaint;—the pleas of the litigants before the said Sieur de Peiras [acting attorney-general] on the fourth [?] of the present month, with Mr. Pierre Duquet, notary, acting as clerk of the court;—the report of the said Sieur de Peiras;—the summing up by the attorney-general;—Everything having been considered, the Council has nonsuited and nonsuits the plaintiff and the parties to the suit [Jean Plattier and Jean Tiberge] of their present petitions and claims; and upholds the sharing, made in ten parts with the defendant, of the pelts acquired in the trade by trading in the Ottawa country, except that they may also have a share, on the same footing, of the pelts belonging to their company which have remained in the Ottawa country, but they may not claim anything from the pelts which may be gathered by the two men who were sent to fetch [the furs left] in the said Ottawa country since the dissolution of their partnership, and the Council sentences the plaintiff and parties to the suit to a equal share of the costs.

FF [Frontenac].⁸³

These two episodes, *i. e.*, the claim of Normandin at Montreal, and the law suit at Quebec, are a melancholy commentary on the reception tendered to the discoverer of the Mississippi on his return to Lower Canada in 1674. Instead of being welcomed by "the bells of the churches ringing a full peal" when the explorer who had discovered an imperial waterway arrived at Quebec—a sentimental assertion for which there is not one shred of evidence—he was hauled before notaries, arbiters, and judges, and forced to give a detailed account of his trading activities in the West between 1672 and 1674.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History
Loyola University

⁸³ *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 864.

Appendix A.

Prétentions que le sieur BeauSoleil a contre Monsieur Jolliet tant pour luy que p^r La Vefue du feu Sieur Joliet aprezent son Espouze
Premierement

- 1 40 Robes dune peau quil est obligé daporter des 8ta8as appartenant a la Vielle Communauté ./.
- 2 30 : autres Robes quil apris de lad. Communauté et mise. dans la Siennne sans en auoir donné aucune connoissance A sa soeur ./.
- 3 Un Canot que sa soeur luy apresté pour aller querir les paquets d. lad. Communauté ./.
- 4 Payement de la forge dont il se sert depuis trois ans ./.
- 5 Une Couuerte blanche p^r son Compte per^e que le feu Sieur Joliet Luy a livré
Quand led. Sieur Jolliet aura examiner les articles cy dessus il est prié de faire connoistre ses Intentions
Ensuite dequoy on la deliberera par arbitre. ou deuant qui il luy plaira ./.
- 6 On demande aussy Raison de Ceux qui sont Redevabl. alad. Communauté [*verso*]
- 7 de plus au lieu de rendre un canot qui luy fust presté par sa soeur pour aller querir les robes de la Communaute comme il est descrit cy dessus il en a achepté un des robes de Ladite Communauté dans le pays des Outouaks qui luy a cousté six robes desquelles six robes la vefve y devoit auoir trois le quel canot Il a vendu au mary deffunt de sa soeur six robes quoy que led. canot luy fust justement deub et que bien loing de le payer, on debvroit rembourser ladite vefve de la moitie des six robes quil auoit couste vu quelle avoit presté un Canot et que par consequent on luy en devroit rendre un autre.
- 8 On demande aussi que le Sieur Jolliett ayt a payer les robes qui sont restées aux Outaouaks, appartenant a la dite Communauté, veu qu'il n'a eu son congé, la seconde fois qu'il y est monté, qu'en consideration des robes qui y estoient restées, et que par consequent, il lui devoit plutost faire embarquer, que quatre cens qui n'estoient point dans la dite communauté.
Et en cas que le sieur Jolliett dise qu'il avoit besoing

d'un canot pour faire embarquer les dites robes et que par consequent le canot qui est dit cy -dessus luy devoit appartenir, il ne niera pas que tous ces canots devoient estre, comme il estoit dit dans le marché, au sieur Jolliette defunt, pourveu qu'ils fussent achetés des marchandises ou robes de la dite communauté

- 9 Une chemise un calçon et une cravatte a passouche Lorsqu'il descendit la premiere fois des Outaouaks.

[*verso*]

5 sacs de bled

16# de fil

du fil de fer

des haches

la forge valoit icy

120#

Appendix B.

Veu par Nous Louis Rouer S^r de Villeray et Thierry de L'Estre Le Vallon, Escheuin & Bourgeois de Quebec, *de la ville de Quebec* [italics deleted], le Compromis passé par deuant M^e Benigne Basset No^{re} Royal de Cette Isle, entre Louis Jolliet habitant dud. lieu de Quebec d'une part, Et Mathurin Normandin dit Beausoleil demeurant au Cap de la Mag^{ne} et Jeanne Dodier sa femme veufve en premieres nopces de feu Adrian Jolliet, d'autre, et dattes du jour d'hyer par lequel les dictes partyes seroient convenües de Nous, pour arbitres, terminer & decider les differends meu entre eux pour raison de L'Ancienne Societé & communauté D'Entre lesd. Sieur Adrian Jolliet deffunt, & led. sieur Louis Jolliet et Consorts, L'acte de ce jour etant au bas dud. compromis portant L'acceptation par nous faite dud. arbitrage, les memoires respectifs presentes par les dites parties et Icelles ouïes sur Iceux, et sur aucuns faits en resultant; Tout Consideré, nous disons, Qu'au regard des vingt trois ou vingt quatre robbes restées dans le pays des 8ta8acs, ils seront partagéz entre eux au desir de leur dicte Societé, lorsqu'ils seront arrivéz aud. lieu du Cap, et pour cet effet, seront apportées a communs frais a leurs diligences, particulierem^t a celle dud. Sieur Jolliet autant que faire se pourra, selon ses offres; et pour ce qui concerne certain canot fourny aud. S^r Jolliet par lad^{te} veufve, pour servir a apporter les pelleteries qui estoient aud. pays des 8ta8acs, d'autant quallant aud. pays, led. Sieur Jolliet s'en est servy po. son Usage particulier & celui de sa nouvelle Societé, ordonner qu'il payera en son Nom, la

somme de trente liures ausd. Sieur Normandin & sa femme Et attendu que tous les Canots de Retour des 8ta8acs procedans de la Societé, doibuent appartenir aud. feu S^r Jolliet au desir de l'accord fait entre lesd. associez et que neantmoins la dicte dodier, ou le feu S^r Baillargé son second mari en ayant pris un, ils furent contraints de rapporter quelque quantité de castors a la masse des pelleteries appartenantes a lad. Societé au retour de l'annee gbj^c soixante & Unze, Led. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur restituera en son nom come dit est, ausd. demandeurs la quantité de neuf Castors, et quand a la forge, Marchandises et Viures denrées, pelleteries et effects quelconques restez aud. pays des 8ta8acs, appartenans a lad. Société ainsi que les vingt trois a vingt quatre robbes susdictes du consentement dud. S^r Jolliet, deffendeur, auons Icelui condamné en son nom particulier payer et bailler ausd. demandeurs, la quantité de Douse robbes et demye de six Castors chacune, pour la part appartenante a lad. veufve et succession dud. deffunt Jolliet son mary, sauf aud. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur, pour ce chef & autres susdits, son recours, tant sur lesd. effects que contre qu'il verra etre a faire au cas que led. Normandin, sad^{te} femme et succession dud. deffunt et sans prejudices a ce qui leur peut appartenir en ce qui se trouuera deub du particulier d'aucun de dix autres leurs associéz en lad. Société dont led. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur, de bonne foy leur donnera connoissance et coppie du memoire qu'il en fera pour remplacer celui quil dit auoir perdu dans son dernier Nofrage, Auons en outre Condamné led. sieur Jolliet deffendeur, payer ausd. demandeurs la somme de vingt liures pour la valeur d'une chemise, Calçon et Cravate mentiones en leur memoire, et au surplus d'Icelles demandes Incidentes et respectives des partyes Icelles hors de cour et de proces sans depens, et pour leur prononcer la presente sentence auons Comis le sieur Basset Nottaire fait a Ville marie en L'Isle du Montreal, ce septieme jour de juillet gbi^c soixante quatorze approuvé deux mots en rature

Roüer de Villeray
De lestre Le vallon

Basset
greffier.

L'an gbj^c soixante quatorze et le tresie. Jour du mois de juillet, par vertu de la Commission sus Enoncé Je Benigne Basset Greffier du Bailliage de Montreal y desnommé, ay *signifié*+ [deleted] et fait a scauoir ausd. Sieurs Louis Jolliet, Normandin & sa femme

quil autorise pour leffect presentes et parlant a Leurs personnes
trouvées aud. Montreal, apres leur avoir fait entiere Lecture, de
la presente sentence quils ont dit auoir bien entendue, et que par
ces presentes et chacun en leur esgard, acquiescé et acquiesse sans
pouvoir aller au Contrairre, et ont signé a la reserve desd. Sr
Normandin et sa femme pour ne scauoir et de ce enquis suivant
L'ord^{ce}+ prononcée approué un mot en rature

Jolliet

Basset [paraph]

Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River

We have said elsewhere that there were five basic sources for our knowledge of Jolliet's expedition of 1673,¹ and that the expedition itself could not be adequately studied until these sources had been thoroughly analyzed.² In a previous article we examined one of these basic sources; namely, the 1674 account of the discovery of the Mississippi. This account is essentially the verbal report of Jolliet, the leader of the expedition, committed to writing by Father Dablon. The evidential value of this report could be higher if we had Dablon's original draft, or better still, if we had Jolliet's account in his own handwriting. In the following pages we shall analyze Marquette's map, which is not only the oldest source for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673, but it is also the single extant autograph document by a member of the expedition. Its importance is readily realized when we remember, first, that it expresses cartographically what was contained in Marquette's journal, which the missionary had before him when he made the map, and secondly that in spite of its sketchiness, it is much more accurate than the maps of the same section of the Mississippi River which were drawn during the next twenty-five years.

There are to my knowledge two analyses of this map, but their authors have not extracted all the information contained thereon. The first in date is by L. G. Weld whose main concern was to determine the location in Iowa of the Illinois tribe inscribed on the map west of the Mississippi, slightly above latitude 40°.³ The second analysis, by L. P. Kellogg, is incidental to a discussion of an early state of a map illustrating the narrative of the 1673 expedition published by Thévenot in 1681.⁴ In her discussion the late Miss Kellogg supposed that Marquette's map was based on information supplied by Indians and drawn before the expedition got under way. At a later date, however, she revised this opinion, and wrote that Marquette

¹ "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 301-324.

² "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," *supra*, p. 3.

³ L. G. Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, I, 1903, 3-16.

⁴ L. P. Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map Possibly Identified," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* for 1906, Madison, 1907, 186 ff.

"began that map at St. Ignace before he set forth, and that later he added the courses of the Mississippi."⁵

What had led her to assert that the map was drawn before the voyage is a passage of a narrative of the expedition which is entitled "*Récit des voyage et des Descouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette*," saying that before setting out for the unknown:

We obtained all the information that we could from the Indians who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a map of the whole of that new country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it.⁶

As can be seen, Kellogg's later opinion is at variance with the above text, in which it is distinctly stated that the whole map was made before the explorers left Michilimackinac. Kellogg, Weld, and many others mistakenly believed that Marquette was the author of the *Récit*, whereas it is quite certain that it was written by Dablon, and it is also certain that the latter made use of Marquette's map to write the *Récit*. Dablon's mention of a map drawn before the voyage probably refers to the custom of explorers to make such maps on information supplied by Indians,⁷ or it was due to the fact that when he wrote the *Récit*, he had Marquette's map before him. If, however, as seems very likely, some other map was made before the expedition started, that map is certainly not the one which we are studying. What Sparks wrote of the Thévenot map is much truer of that of Marquette: "It was impossible to construct it, without having seen the principal objects delineated";⁸ and, we may add, it would have been impossible to draw such an accurate map of the course of the Mississippi merely on information derived from the Indians.

Since in discussing Marquette's map we shall have to refer more than once to the Jesuit map of Lake Superior, a few words about this latter map are in place here. Indeed, that portion of Marquette's map north of latitude 43°, is a slightly modified copy of this earlier map.

⁵ *Id.*, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 200, note 29.

⁶ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 59:90.

⁷ Cf. JR, 44:236 ff.; La Salle's letter of post September 29, 1680, in P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 52-53; *Journal of the Badine*, *ibid.*, IV, 178; *Journal of the Marin*, *ibid.*, 269.

⁸ Jared Sparks, "Life of Father Marquette," in *Library of American Biography*, first series, New York, 1848², X, 297.

Dablon wrote as follows in the covering letter of the Relation of 1670-1671:

At the beginning of the Relation of the Ottawa will be found a map showing the region, with their lakes and rivers, in which the missions of that country are situated. It was drawn by two Fathers, rather intelligent, much given to research, and very painstaking, who did not wish to set down anything they had not seen with their own eyes. They have therefore given only the beginnings of the Lake of the Hurons and of the Lake of the Illinois, although they have traveled considerably over both, which appear like two seas, so large are they. But as the Fathers have not explored certain portions of them in person, they prefer to leave the map somewhat imperfect, rather than issue it with errors, which always creep in when one depends on the mere report of others.⁹

Of the "two Fathers" mentioned here one is certainly Allouez, and the other is Dablon himself rather than Marquette. It is unlikely that Dablon would have omitted giving their names, if Marquette and Allouez had been the two Fathers in question. He certainly would not have been satisfied with saying that they were "assez intelligens";¹⁰ and what he says about having explored Green Bay as well as the northern portions of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, is true of Dablon himself, not of Marquette.

Between 1665 and 1667, Allouez had explored the shore of the whole of Lake Superior. The geographical information published in the Relation of 1666-1667,¹¹ was recast and expanded in the Relation of 1669-1670.¹² During the winter of 1669-1670, Allouez went to Sault Ste Marie, along the northern shore of Lake Michigan, up Green Bay and the Fox River to the Mascoutens villages in Green Lake County, Wisconsin. The journal of this journey was forwarded to Quebec in June 1670, and was published in Paris in 1671 as a part of the Relation of 1669-1670.¹³ By the beginning of June 1670, Allouez had returned to Sault Ste Marie, whence, together with Dablon, toward the end of August, he left a second time for the Mascoutens villages.¹⁴ Consequently, when Dablon says that the two Fathers "did not wish to set down" on the map of the Ottawa missions, "anything which they had not seen with their own eyes," this applies to Allouez and himself rather than to Allouez and Marquette.

⁹ JR, 54:254.

¹⁰ Cf. "Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)," in MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 109.

¹¹ Cf. JR, 50:248 ff., and 51:20 ff.

¹² JR, 54:126-164.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 196-240.

¹⁴ JR, 55:184.

The rough draft of this map was very probably made by Dablon himself and completed at Quebec after July 12, 1671. This original draft is lost, so that it is impossible to know how much of the nomenclature of Lake Superior mentioned in chapters X and XI of the Relation of 1669-1670 was on the manuscript sent to France for publication. It is probable that many place-names were omitted by the engraver or by the professional draughtsman who redrew Dablon's sketch in Paris.¹⁵

That mistakes were made when the map was prepared for the engraver is clear from the following considerations. We must first note that Dablon gives few distances in his description of Lake Superior in the Relation of 1669-1670 or in that of 1670-1671, and the few distances which he does give do not correspond to those shown on the map. Thus, he wrote that the Keweenaw peninsula juts eighty leagues into the lake, whereas if we measure its length on the scale of the map it is only twenty leagues long, or thirty-five leagues if the latitudes marked on the sides of the map are used as a scale. Actually, the length of the peninsula, from the point where the 89th meridian crosses the 47th parallel up to Copper Harbor, is seventy miles. The discrepancy between the leagues on the scale and those on the parallels of latitude was noted by Bourguignon d'Anville two centuries ago.¹⁶ After comparing these two measures, he wrote on Dablon's map: "35 [scl. leagues] environ par Degré." This is a mistake, for thirty-five leagues on the scale equal *two* degrees of latitude; hence seventeen and a half leagues for one degree of latitude, which was the length given to it by Spanish sailors. The French, however, counted twenty sea leagues to the degree of latitude, or twenty-five land leagues. If the discrepancy between the value of the league measured on the scale and on the degrees of latitude is not simply an error of the Paris draughtsman, the only explanation seems to be that the latter meant to give on his scale the value of one degree of longitude at the middle latitude of the map. This would be twenty-five land leagues times the cosine of latitude 45°, or seventeen and a half leagues for one degree of longitude at that latitude.

However that may be, the merit of this map does not depend

¹⁵ Compare the printed map with a manuscript draft in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB), B 4044-74. This manuscript has been published from the photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions by S. J. Tucker in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. II. Cf. the note accompanying this map, *ibid.*, page 2.

¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, note 24.

so much on its mathematical accuracy as on its faithful representation of the region. About this map Karpinski wrote:

No one can examine this fine delineation of Lake Superior and the northern parts of Michigan and Huron without amazement at the amount of scientific exploration and careful observation which made it possible. Not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century was any cartographical work of the magnitude and character of this Jesuit map executed in the Great Lakes area.¹⁷

Dablon wrote in his Relation of 1671-1672:

Last year, we published a map of the lakes and territories where these [Ottawa] missions are situated. We have thought it would be well to republish it this year in order to satisfy the curiosity of those who have not seen it, adding a few new missions which were lately founded in that country: that of St. Francis Xavier, for instance, which quite recently was moved to the [bank] of the river emptying into Green Bay, two leagues from its mouth; and the mission of the Apostles on the northern coast of Lake Huron.¹⁸

The map which accompanied this Relation in no way differs from that published in the preceding year. From what Dablon says here, it would seem that his revised map was made by simply marking on a printed copy of the last year's map the additions mentioned above; namely, the location of the mission of St. Francis Xavier on the site of present-day De Pere, Wisconsin, instead of at Point Sable, where it appears on the map of 1671;¹⁹ and the mission of the Apostles across from that of St. Simon. In Paris, however, they took no account of these changes, and "the old plate of the preceding year was made to do service."²⁰

The delineation of Lake Superior on the Dablon map of 1671, appears on numerous representations of this section of North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Besides, quite a number of tracings and redrawings of this particular map was made during the next hundred years.

Among these manuscripts is a tracing with an abridged title;²¹ immediately below the legend "R. Nantounagan," the anonymous author of this tracing added the following inscription: "Dans laquelle le Sr de St Lussou a percé et trouué des galets de sable

¹⁷ L. C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan*, Lansing, 1931, 99.

¹⁸ JR, 56:90.

¹⁹ For the successive locations of the St. Francis Xavier mission, cf. A. C. Neville, "Some Historic Sites about Green Bay," *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1905*, Madison, 1906, 143-156.

²⁰ JR, 55:317.

²¹ Lac Tracy ou Supérieur avec les dependances de la Mission du Saint Esprit, in SHB, B 4044-73.

desquels on croit que se forme le cuiure."²² Claude Bernou used the printed Jesuit map of 1671 as a model for his own manuscript map of Lake Superior, and added descriptive legends taken from the Relations of 1670-1671 and of 1671-1672.²³ In the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville inscribed numerous legends on the printed map in the Relation of 1670-1671.²⁴ When redrawing this augmented version, he added the course of the Upper Mississippi as given by Coronelli,²⁵ and embodied this revision in his map of North America published in 1755.²⁶

Marquette's original manuscript map is preserved in the Archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal. It is one of the documents handed over to Father Martin in 1844 by the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec. A facsimile of the map was first published by Shea in 1852,²⁷ and again in 1861 by Father de Montézon to accompany his editions of the *Relations inédites*.²⁸ Thwaites wrote about these reproductions: "The facsimile of Marquette's genuine map, as reproduced by Shea and others is not without blunders, which will be detected upon comparison with the photographic facsimile given in the present volume of our series."²⁹

I have looked in vain for these "blunders." In some respects the Shea facsimile is better than the photographic copy in the

²² Cf. *supra*, "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," note 73.

²³ SHB, B 4044-46. A contemporary tracing of this map by an unidentified draughtsman is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Ge D, 8078.

²⁴ BN, Ge. DD, 2987-8695, reproduced in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. I. The caption on this map reproduced in G. L. Nute, *Lake Superior*, New York and Indianapolis, 1944, facing p. 40, reads as follows: "One of the earliest maps of Lake Superior. Probably this manuscript was the draft from which the printed form of the Jesuit map of 1672 was made." This map is not a "manuscript" draft; it is the printed map which d'Anville took out of the Relation of 1670-1671, and to which he added many legends. How could this be "the draft from which the printed form of the Jesuit map of 1672 was made," considering that the manuscript additions are in the handwriting of d'Anville, who was born in 1697, twenty-five years after the publication of the map?

²⁵ This map, in SHB, B 4044-38, has no title; it is reproduced in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. III.

²⁶ *Canada Louisiane et Terres Angloises*, Par Le Sr d'Anville, [Paris], Novembre MDCCLV. Compare the nomenclature of the Lake Superior region on this map with d'Anville's *Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1746, and with that on the manuscript map of Chaussegros de Léry of 1735, SHB, B 4044-77.

²⁷ J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852.

²⁸ *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1861. The map is at the end of volume II.

²⁹ JR, 59:295. "Shea's map was traced, and in this process somewhat changed and 'improved'." Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map," *loc. cit.*, 183, note 1.

Jesuit Relations. Father Steck, who made the comparison suggested by Thwaites, says that "this latest reproduction, however, shows that since the days of Shea the original has been mutilated so that the unmistakable handwriting of Marquette no longer appears on it."³⁰ As a matter of fact, the original of the map is exactly as it was in the days of Shea,³¹ without the least mutilation.³² A glance at these maps will show that whoever was preparing Thwaites' photographic copy thought that the four original legends in cursive were too finely written to photograph well, and therefore rewrote these legends more clearly, pasting his reproductions of them over the originals. The original in cursive may still be seen, in the "unmistakable handwriting of Marquette," and this settles the question of the authenticity of the map.

The map measures 467 x 350 mm. The projection is the simplest and most conventional one: the cylindrical equal-spaced projection (plate-carrée, quadratische Plattkarte). The latitudes, from 30° to 48°, are numbered on both sides of the map, but the longitudes marked off at the top and bottom are not numbered.

The delineation of Lake Superior is the same as that of the Jesuit map of 1671; except that the northern shore is not shown, for the area represented only extends to latitude 48°. The contours of Green Bay, and of the northern shores of Lake Huron and of Lake Michigan, are also derived from the map of 1671. The west shore of Lake Huron and the east shore of Lake Michigan are indicated by a dotted line. The three lakes are given their seventeenth century French names. Three legends in cursive and one in block letters, taken from the map of 1671, are inscribed on Lake Superior. On the north shore of Lake Huron, Marquette wrote "SS. Ap" [SS. Apostres] intending to indicate the location of the mission of the Holy Apostles begun by Father Nouvel in the winter

³⁰ F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 149, note 32.

³¹ See the untouched photographic reproduction of the map in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. V.

³² The "mutilation" theory reappears in a "Reply" to G. J. Garrahan's article, *Thought*, IV, 1929, 32 ff., dealing with Father Steck's book. "This mutilation of the original map made after 1852, whereby the handwriting of Marquette was completely destroyed, is really another of the many enigmas connected with the 1673 expedition." *Father Garrahan and "The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673,"* reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*, 1929-1930, 10. It would have been more profitable if Father Steck had ascertained what sources were used by Dablon to write the *Récit*, rather than wasted time in looking for "enigmas" where there are none, or in trying to find something improbable in the obvious.

of 1671-1672.³³ The center-top of the map, which is torn, originally contained the name of an Indian tribe beginning with "Ki"; these are evidently the first two letters of the word "Kilistinons" on the Jesuit map of 1671.

The names of four Indian tribes are inscribed in the Green Bay-Fox River region. The first, "folle auoine" written in cursive, is located as on the map of 1671, on the Menominee River; but Marquette does not indicate as clearly as Dablon did whether the village of these Indians was on the Wisconsin or on the Michigan side of the Menominee.³⁴ The names of the three other Indian tribes are written in block letters: 1) the P8te8tami at Point Sable, where the St. Francis Xavier mission was located before it was moved to De Pere, Wisconsin; 2) the 8tagami on the east bank of the Wolf River, exactly where it is situated on the 1671 map;³⁵ and 3) the Masc8tens, on the south bank of the Fox River.³⁶

The names of the Indian tribes shown in the Mississippi Valley may be divided into three groups. The first group comprises "Kachkaska" on the Illinois River, and the names of three Indian tribes on the banks of the Mississippi: "Pe8area," "Mons8pelea," and "Akansea." Whether "Metchigamea" is meant to represent an Indian village on the west bank of the Mississippi, or one located farther inland, is discussed below. The second group comprises five names placed in echelons east of the Mississippi, which are said to be those of "Nations dans les terres." The third group, west of the Mississippi, includes two clusters of villages, nine in the north, and eight in the south; they are the "Noms des nations esloignees dans les terres."

The Mississippi is marked "R. de la Conception."³⁷ The legend

³³ JR, 56:92 ff.

³⁴ On the site of this village, cf. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, 125, note 47.

³⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 127, note 50.

³⁶ Cf. J. J. Wood, "The Mascoutin Village," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* for 1906, 167-174, and A. E. Jones, "The Site of the Mascoutin," *ibid.*, 175-182. In his discussion, Father Jones erroneously supposes that the text which he discusses was written by Marquette; whereas it is a copy, in an unknown hand, of Dablon's original. Dablon probably wrote "treize" instead of "trois."

³⁷ There is no reason to question the authenticity of this name on the ground that it is not written in cursive "like other portions" of the map, "but in Roman capitals," (Steck, *op. cit.*, 296). At that rate only the four legends in cursive are authentic, for all the others are in Roman capitals, and there is no difference between the style of the Roman capitals "R. DE LA CONCEPTION" and the style of the Roman capitals of the other legends. Cf. also *ibid.*, 171, note 92. Neither is it conclusive to argue that because Marquette calls the Mississippi by its Indian name in his autograph journal of the second voyage, he therefore had not called it "R. de

"Bassin de la Floride" is written along the 31st parallel and one degree below, farther to the east, is the word "Floride."

[This map] represents, with the exception of Lake Superior, merely the route traversed by Marquette, even the eastern shore of Lake Michigan being traced by a dotted line, so careful was the author to show only those places with which he was personally acquainted. But this defect, if we can call it such, is compensated for by a style of execution that would do credit to a skilled designer. The Mississippi is shown only from its junction with the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas where the party turned back. Marquette has drawn those tributaries of the great river, as he describes them in his journal, and he makes no attempt to trace them back to some imaginary sources or to decorate them with possible affluents. It is refreshing to turn to such a work executed with a strict attention to detail, erected on a firm foundation of fact, and one in which the author attempts to impart his knowledge unadorned by any flights of fancy.³⁸

Like many others, Crouse erroneously calls the *Récit* Marquette's journal; he also thought that the map was based on the *Récit*, whereas, as we have already noted, Dablon made use of the map to write the *Récit*. These mistaken views of Crouse do not, however, affect his appraisal of the accuracy of the map itself. The excellence of this map will be realized if we consider in detail the course of the Mississippi as shown thereon.

From the mouth of the Mississippi, at latitude 42° 20', the

la Conception" in his journal of the voyage of 1673. For it is at least possible that like other seventeenth century explorers, Marquette could have referred to the Mississippi by more than one name. Thus, although Jolliet had called it "Rivière de Buade," he later referred to it as "Mississippi"; and La Salle who had solemnly christened it "Fleuve Colbert," in April 1682, opens his letter of October of that year by calling it "fleuve Mississippi," (Margry, II, 288), and "grande rivière" in the last lines of the same letter, *ibid.*, 301. Moreover, when referring to the Mississippi by its Indian name in this autograph journal of his second voyage, Marquette tells Dablon that he is sending to him his journal of the first voyage. Hence he naturally mentioned the Mississippi by its Indian name, because this was the only name by which Dablon could have known the Mississippi unless he had read Marquette's journal of the first voyage. Cf. JR, 55:96, 206. Again, the authenticity of the original of the letter of August 4, 1673, *infra*, note 66, cannot be questioned on the ground that in the extant copy made by a Virginian, the name of Marquette is written "Macput," and that the date is 1675 instead of 1673. Both these errors can easily have been made by the copyist, and Alvord's main arguments are still conclusive. The complete ineptitude of the copyist is further evident from his nonsensical garbling of the Latin text of the letter. By taking the above considerations into account, Father Steck might have spared himself the trouble of resorting to "not improbable" hypotheses in order to explain how the Mississippi came to be called "R. de la Conception" on the map, and why it was called by its Indian name in Marquette's journal of his second voyage.

³⁸ N. M. Crouse, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675*, [Ithaca, New York], 1924, 114.

Mississippi is represented as flowing to the south-southeast, to latitude 41° , and then to the south-southwest as far as latitude 39° . From this point to the confluence of the Illinois River, at latitude 38° , its course makes an angle of 140 degrees. From the confluence of the Illinois River, its course is due south for one and a half degrees, to latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The river then turns to the southeast, as far as the mouth of the Ohio, situated slightly below latitude 36° . From the Ohio to the southernmost point shown on the map, latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$, the Mississippi flows south-southwestward.

The two accompanying drawings show graphically how accurately the course of the Mississippi is delineated on this "crude sketch." On the first drawing, the course of the Mississippi River has been transposed on a modern map, keeping the latitudes as they are on Marquette's map; on the second drawing, all his latitudes have been raised one degree to correct the average error of position of identifiable points. No map of this section of the Mississippi made before 1700 either in France or in Canada is as accurate as that of Marquette; and the exactness of the latitudes is itself enough to prove that this map could not have been made before the voyage on information furnished by Indians.

Four unnamed rivers empty into Lake Michigan between Chicago and the peninsula bounded by this lake and Green Bay.

The "R. de la Conception" receives seven tributaries, four coming from the west, and three from the east; of these, only two are named: the Pekitan8i [Missouri], which is shown coming from the northwest, and the 8ab8skig8 [Ohio], coming from the east-northeast. These two are shown at their confluence as broad rivers tapering off into a single line.

Of the five unnamed tributaries of the Mississippi, the Wisconsin and the Illinois can be identified with certainty. The whole course of the former, from Portage to Prairie du Chien, is represented by a thin line, the river flowing in a south-southwest direction. The Illinois is shown at its confluence as a broad stream coming directly from the north for one degree; above this point it is represented by a thin line running upward toward the northeast, and then toward the east to the headwaters near Lake Michigan. There is no means of identifying the rudimentary river which empties into the Mississippi slightly below latitude 41° . The river on the bank of which the Pe8area dwelt is either the Des Moines or the Iowa. As can be seen from our second drawing, the latitude of this river is more nearly that of the Iowa than of the Des

Moines;³⁹ but to determine which of the two rivers it represents, we must postulate that the error in computing the latitudes was constant, whereas there is a variable difference between the latitudes of several identifiable points on the map and their true positions.

From the following discussion it will appear in the first place, that the southernmost unnamed tributary of the Mississippi is meant to indicate not the Arkansas but the White River; and secondly, that the explorers very probably did not go as far south as the mouth of the White River. *Conjecture*

We shall begin by considering the latitudes which Marquette gives for the following easily identifiable points: the mouth of the Wisconsin, the mouth of the Missouri, the mouth of the Ohio, and the Chicago portage.

<i>Latitudes on Marquette's map</i>		<i>True latitudes</i>	
Mouth of Wisconsin		40° 20'.	43°
Mouth of the Missouri	slightly below	38° .	38° 55'
Mouth of the Ohio		36° .	37°
Chicago Portage		40° 20'.	41° 45'

As can be seen, all of Marquette's positions on the map⁴⁰ are from 40' to 1° 25' lower than the true ones. Now, the mouth of the southernmost tributary of the Mississippi on the map is placed at latitude 33° 40', which is a few minutes below the latitude of the mouth of the Arkansas River. Considering, however, the error of all the other positions as shown in the table above, and specifically the error of one degree for the mouths of the Missouri and of the Ohio, if we now place the mouth of the southernmost tributary one degree higher, at latitude 34° 40', it will coincide with the latitude of the mouth of the St. Francis River. On the other hand, Jolliet told Dablon in July 1674, and also wrote to Laval in October of the same year, that he had gone as far south as latitude 33°, which is the latitude of the present-day Arkansas-Louisiana boundary line. Actually the explorers did not reach this boundary line, though they did go below the St. Francis River to a village which stood on the west bank of the Mississippi.

By means of accounts of later travelers we shall proceed to show where this village was situated in 1673, and also to prove

³⁹ Cf. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 20, note; and Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, 11, 12.

⁴⁰ "On the map," because, as we shall see, the latitudes were computed much more accurately, and it is fairly certain that Marquette did not mark them on his map exactly as they were entered in his journal.

that this village is very probably the southernmost point reached by the expedition.

At this period there were four villages near the Arkansas River, inhabited by Indians of Siouan stock known to the French under the generic name of Arkansas.⁴¹ These villages are mentioned by French travelers during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and although the distance between each of these villages is not always given, in all the accounts the northernmost village, that of the Quapaw, is said to be on the west bank of the Mississippi.

It was in the Quapaw village that La Salle first took possession of Louisiana in March 1682.⁴² Three documents dealing with this La Salle expedition give the location of the various Arkansas villages and the distances between each as follows.

According to the narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, there are eight leagues between the Quapaw village on the west bank of the Mississippi and an Arkansas village on the east bank of the river; another six leagues separate this second village from a third one, which is on the west branch of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Arkansas River.⁴³

In his letter of July 23, 1682, Tonti says that on leaving the first Arkansas village, they went to the Taensa, "après avoir entré dans deux autres villages des Akansas distant de 6. et trois lieues du 1^{er}."⁴⁴ Taken at its face value, this would mean that the third village was six leagues, and the second three leagues, from the first. What he probably meant to say was that there were six leagues between the first and the second, and three leagues between the second and the third. This interpretation is all the more plausible, for in the procès-verbal of his second voyage to the Gulf he gives ten leagues as the total distance between the first and the third Arkansas village.⁴⁵ The first village, he says in his letter, was on

⁴¹ See the variants in F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, 2 volumes, Washington, D. C., 1912⁴, s. v. Quapaw.

⁴² See the first procès-verbal by Jacques de la Métairie in Margry, II, 185, and the second procès-verbal, *ibid.*, 189. No date is given in Father Membre's letter of June 3, 1682, *ibid.*, 208. Tonti's letter written at Michilimackinac July 23, 1682, gives March 14, BN, Clairambault, 1016:166, printed in M. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette. A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membre, O.F.M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645 (ca.)-1689*, New York, c1934, 218. No date is found in Nicolas de la Salle's account, Margry, I, 554, or in Tonti's two memoirs, *ibid.*, 599, and L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York c1917, 298.

⁴³ Margry, I, 555.

⁴⁴ Habig, *op. cit.*, 219.

⁴⁵ "The Voyages of Tonti in North America," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 275.

the west bank of the Mississippi, but he does not say on which side of the river the other two were located.

In Tonti's second memoir the location of the first village is not given, but from a comparison with a parallel passage in the above mentioned letter, it is clear that he located the first village on the west bank of the river. In this second memoir, he gives the names of the three villages as well as the distances between them: the first, called Cappa, is eight leagues above Tongengan [Tongigua], the second village; and this second is two leagues from the third which is named Toriman [Tourima].⁴⁶

Another traveler, Henri Joutel, passed through the Arkansas villages three years before Tonti wrote his second narrative. In his journal Joutel gives the following details. He and his companions, coming from Texas, arrived at a village on the Arkansas River on July 24, 1687. This village, called Otsoté [Uzutihi],⁴⁷ was five or six leagues from another, called Thoriman, which was "situated on a kind of island."⁴⁸ On leaving Thoriman, they "entered the Mississippi,"⁴⁹ and after four leagues' journey, arrived at a third village "which bears the name of Tongigua It is situated on the bank of the Colbert River, on the right as one goes up stream On the 30th [of July, 1687], we left the said village to go to that of the Kappa, which was the last one of this tribe, and which, we were told, was about eight leagues [from Tourima] This [Quapaw] village is situated on the left bank of the river as one goes up stream, on a bluff or elevation which may well be thirty feet high."⁵⁰

These and other descriptions of this section of the Mississippi by seventeenth century travelers will be quite clear if we remember that they conceived the confluence of the White River and the Arkansas River quite differently from ourselves. We distinguish the mouth of the White River from that of the Arkansas, ten miles farther south; we call the channel west and south of Big Island the lower course of the Arkansas, and we call the river east of Big Island, the Mississippi. In the seventeenth century, the junction of the branch of the White River with the Arkansas was considered the mouth of the Arkansas River. Hence the lower course of the

⁴⁶ Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 298.

⁴⁷ Margry, III, 444.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 454.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 457.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 457, 458, 462.

Arkansas was regarded as the western branch of the Mississippi, and our Mississippi was the eastern branch of the river.

In view of this, the location of the three Arkansas villages in these accounts is as follows: Tourima was in the northwest corner of Big Island, two leagues from Tongigua; the latter was situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, slightly above the mouth of our White River; and the Quapaw village was on a bluff eight leagues farther up on the west bank of the Mississippi, that is, in the vicinity of Knowlton, Arkansas, between latitudes $34^{\circ} 5'$ and $34^{\circ} 10'$.

This location of the Quapaw village is confirmed by the journal which Father Gravier kept during his descent of the Mississippi River in 1700. On October 27, they "passed the St. Francis River, at the point of a bank on the northern bank, eighteen leagues from the Akansea."⁵¹ There is no entry for October 28. On the 29th, at noon, the French met "four pirogues of Akansea."

On the 30th [of October] we encamped one league lower [than the place where they had met the Arkansas pirogues], half a league above the old village of the Akansea,—where they formerly received the later Father Marquette,—which is now recognized only by the old outworks, for not a hut remains. On the 31st, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the village of the Kappa Akansea, located according to the estimate of Father Marquette at latitude 24° .⁵²

Gravier inquired from the chief of the village whether he remembered having seen a Frenchman clad like himself, in black. The chief said that he did, but that it was long, long ago.

I told him that it was more than twenty-eight [*i. e.*, twenty-seven] years ago. He added that they had danced to him the captain's calumet—which I did not at first understand, believing that he was speaking of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with him in the Mississippi country as a safeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they had indeed danced the calumet to him.⁵³

The journal of Marquette which Gravier mentions is now lost, but from what he says, we see that there is only a difference of a few minutes between the latitude of the Quapaw village as computed by Marquette— 24° —is clearly an error of transcription for 34° —and the latitude of the same village as calculated from independent accounts. Moreover, since Indian huts on the map at latitude 34° indicate the position of a village, we conclude that this village represented by these huts was the one visited by Marquette.

⁵¹ JR, 65:114. In his journal, Father Gravier invariably calls the west and east banks of the Mississippi, north and south, respectively.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 120.

Against this conclusion there are two difficulties: first, on the map at latitude 34°, the word "Metchigamea" appears instead of "Quapaw," and ends near some huts, which are used by Marquette to designate Indian settlements or villages on the map; secondly, on the map, at latitude 33° 40', on the east bank of the Mississippi, there is another cluster of huts indicating a village named "Akansea." We must explain why the village which we know was inhabited by Quapaw, is apparently called "Metchigamea" by Marquette; and then explain why this village, not Akansea, was probably the terminus of the expedition.

These difficulties come from the fact that Marquette's journal and that of Jolliet are lost. It should be noted at the outset that the following explanation, although only probable, is based on several premises which are certain. These premises are:

1) The name "Akansea" does not appear in Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi which he wrote on August 1, 1674, after interviewing Jolliet.

2) Nor does this name appear in the two extant copies of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac, and in the extant copy of his letter to Laval, dated October 10, 1674; but the name was on the map which Jolliet drew from memory sometime between August and November of that year.

3) "Metchigamea" and "Akansea" are both Algonquian words.

4) The Indians whom the French called Arkansas spoke a Siouan dialect which none of the members of the expedition understood.

5) The inland villages west of the Mississippi, which were certainly not visited by the travelers, are all indicated on Marquette's map by Indian huts placed *above* the name of the village.

6) Dablon did not have Marquette's journal when he wrote the *Récit*, but he had Marquette's map, as well as a copy of Jolliet's letter to Frontenac; and he had spoken with Jolliet and with some of the men who had taken part in the expedition. Hence what we read in the *Récit* about this part of the journey is not what was in Marquette's journal, but is Dablon's interpretation of the information derived from the above sources.

Now, in the *Récit*, Dablon makes Marquette say the following: "We had gone near the thirty-third degree of latitude having proceeded nearly all the time in a southerly direction when we perceived a village on the water's edge called Metchigamea."⁵⁴ These

⁵⁴ JR, 59:150.

Indians attacked the small party, but desisted when they saw the calumet. The Frenchmen having landed, "at first, we had to speak by signs because none of them understood the six languages which I [Marquette] spoke. At last we found an old man who could speak a little Illinois."⁵⁵ Dablon probably had the details of the attack and of the Illinois-speaking Indian from Jolliet or from some other member of the expedition. The presence of the old man speaking Illinois among these Quapaw would explain the name "Metchigamea" given to the first Arkansas village,⁵⁶ for the Quapaw who spoke Siouan would certainly not designate themselves by an Algonquian name; and the "old man who could speak a little Illinois" cannot have told the French that the village where they met him was inhabited by Michigamea, for in this case, all the Indians in that village would have known Algonquian.

When the French asked about the sea and the distance thereto, we further read in the *Récit*, "we obtained no other answer than we would learn all that we desired at another large village called Akansea, which was only eight or ten leagues lower down."⁵⁷ From what we have said about the location of the Arkansas villages, Akansea is Tongigua which was not "large," for its very name means "little village."⁵⁸ When Dablon says that Akansea is located about "eight or ten leagues" below Metchigamea, he is interpreting Marquette's map on which there is a village of that name below Quapaw; and Akansea, like Metchigamea, can only have been given by an Algonquian-speaking Indian.

According to the *Récit*, the day after their arrival at Metchigamea, the party left for Akansea where "we fortunately found a young man who understood Illinois much better than did the interpreter whom we had brought from Metchigamea." Here inquiries were also made about the distance to the sea; the answer was that it was ten days distant. The explorers were further told that "the

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁵⁶ La Salle arriving at the Quapaw village March 12, 1682, was asked by the Quapaw for help against their enemies, "il leur auroit répondu tant par luy-mesme en langage isilinois, entendu de quelques-uns d'eux, que par un des interprètes qui l'accompagnoient . . ." La Métairie's procès-verbal, Margry, I, 182. Previously, Tonti had hailed Indians coming toward his canoe: "Je leur demanday en langage Illinois qui ils estoient. Un Illinois, qui estoit parmy eux, s'écria: 'Akansa!'" *Ibid.*, 598. "On trouva parmi eux [Quapaw] un esclave Illinois qui servit de truchement. Il dit qu'ils se nommoient Akansa." Nicolas de La Salle, *ibid.*, 554. At the Quapaw village, "il c'est trouué une femme metchigamikoué [Michigamea] qui ma serui d'interprete." Gravier's journal, JR, 65:118.

⁵⁷ JR, 59:152.

⁵⁸ Margry, III, 457.

hatchets, knives, and beads which we saw [at Akansea] were sold to them partly by nations from the east, and partly by [the Indians of] an Illinois village situated four days' journey from their village westward."⁵⁹

On Marquette's map, however, west of Akansea, there is no village that can be certainly identified as Illinois except Metchigamea; and as we have already pointed out, the huts designating a village are placed *above* Metchigamea, as in the case of all the villages situated inland west of the Mississippi. The source of the above statement in the *Récit* seems to be the following passage of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac: "I saw a village which was only five days' journey from a nation that trades with those of California; if I had arrived two days earlier, I would have been able to speak with those who had come from there and had brought a present of four hatchets." When Dablon read this—for he had a copy of this letter of Jolliet—he apparently identified this village which actually appears on Marquette's map fifty miles inland, with that of the Metchigamea, thus interpreting the name as belonging first to a village on the bank of the Mississippi, and then to another village mentioned by Jolliet in his letter to the governor.

From what has been said thus far, the conclusion seems to be that Marquette inscribed Metchigamea on his map because he met an Indian or Indians of that Illinois band in the Quapaw village, or because an Illinois-speaking Indian told him that there was a village inland which was called Metchigamea. The alternative adopted depends on whether one holds that Marquette called Metchigamea the village, at latitude 34°, represented by huts near the west bank of the Mississippi just after this Indian name; or whether Metchigamea is the name of the inland village marked by huts placed above it, fifty miles west of the river.

We can now briefly consider the second difficulty; namely, which of the villages was the southernmost point reached by the expedition: Quapaw, the village on the west bank of the Mississippi at latitude 34°, or Akansea, on the east bank, at latitude 33° 40'? It is of course quite possible that the explorers went down as far as Akansea, but the fact that this village is inscribed on the map is not sufficient evidence that the party actually went there, for on the map there are many names of tribes about which the French merely heard from the Indians, but did not visit. It might be objected that Akansea is shown on the map to be close to the Mississippi, whereas

⁵⁹ JR, 59:154.

the names of the other villages which were certainly not visited by the explorers are indicated as being far inland. This objection loses much of its apparent force when we remember that on the extant variants of Jolliet's lost map, the "Tahensa" are also shown as dwelling close to the bank of the Mississippi; yet it is certain that the explorers did not go as far south as the Taensa villages.

Moreover, if they had gone to Akansea, it is unlikely that Marquette would have failed to give at least some indication of the true hydrography of this part of the course of the Mississippi. All that he indicates on his map at this point is a river coming from the west and emptying into the Mississippi across from Akansea. The inadequacy of this representation is easily understood if he had simply been told by a Michigamea at Quapaw that twenty-five miles below, there was another Arkansas village located on the east bank of the Mississippi, across from the mouth of a river emptying into the main stream. Last but not least is the fact that Gravier who had Marquette's journal makes no mention of his having visited any other Arkansas village except that of the Quapaw.

In the same account of his descent of the Mississippi in 1700, Gravier gives another latitude which he read in Marquette's journal, the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio. It is here considered because it enables us to understand how the missionary constructed his map.

Gravier prefaces a digression on the nomenclature of the Ohio basin by saying that

there are a great many islands and shoals along the course of the Mississippi River. From the Tamarouha [Tamarois] to the Oüabachi [Ohio] River, its course is nearly north south; but three or four leagues from Oüabachi it begins to turn to the north-northwest [north-northeast], and does nothing but meander. We were unable to judge of its direction for the distance covered on the 15th [of October].⁶⁰ Father Marquette, who was the first to discover it [the Mississippi] nearly thirty years ago, entered his position in his journal, latitude 36°47', three leagues from Oüabachi. We encamped in sight of this river which comes from the south [*i. e.*, east] and empties into the Mississippi.⁶¹

From the above quotation it is not clear whether the "three leagues from Oüabachi" should be counted above or below the

⁶⁰ The translator in Thwaites wrote: "We were enabled to judge of its course by the route that we followed on the 15th," which is just the opposite of what Gravier says: "Nous n'auons pu juger par la route que nous auons faite le 15^e quel run de vent elle suit."

⁶¹ JR, 65:106.

mouth of the river. It is possible that the explorers took the latitude at a camping place above the mouth, where the Mississippi reverses its course and flows northward, which is approximately three leagues from Cairo, and then went on to discover the mouth of the Ohio. But it is also possible that they computed this latitude while encamped three leagues below its mouth, after having passed the Ohio. This latter conjecture appears more probable, because their discovery of so large a river would suggest the advisability of recording its position by computing their latitude at that point.

If the latitude was taken where the Mississippi begins to flow northward, there is an error of 13 minutes, for the thirty-seventh parallel cuts through the bend of the Mississippi and the mouth of the Ohio. If the latitude was computed three leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, there is a negligible error of 6 minutes between its true position and that entered in Marquette's journal.

On Marquette's map, however, the Ohio empties into the Mississippi slightly below latitude 36° , almost one degree south of the computed position. The reason for this and similar differences of latitude is as follows. As was seen above, Marquette embodied in his sketch the outline of the 1671 map of Lake Superior after having previously written latitude numbers along both sides of his paper. He correctly placed St. Ignace at latitude 45° , Sault Ste Marie at latitude 46° , and the south shore of Lake Superior along latitude 46° , as on the 1671 map. The River of the Folles Avoines, however, and the Potawatomi village, are located fifteen minutes higher than the position on the map of Lake Superior. Again, on the latter map, the southernmost point of Isle Royale is at latitude $47^{\circ} 20'$, and the lower shore makes a south-southwest north-northeast angle; whereas on Marquette's map the southernmost point of the island is at latitude 47° , and the lower shore runs in an east-west direction.

These inaccuracies of transcription indicate that although the map is, as Crouse says, executed in a way "that would do credit to a skilled engineer," Marquette was not, after all, a professional geographer. In drawing the course of the Mississippi, he faithfully reproduced the various directions of the river as he had observed them; and he inscribed the Quapaw village at the latitude which he had correctly computed; but he was not so careful about entering the intermediary points. As long as his journal was in existence, this lack of care was relatively unimportant, for anyone so inclined could have corrected the errors of positions on the map by means

of the journal, just as Claude Delisle later corrected the sketch maps of Iberville, of Le Sueur, and of other early travelers by means of their journals.

We shall now consider the name of another Indian tribe—Mons8pelea—placed on the east bank of the Mississippi at latitude 35° 15'. Ethnologists call these Indians "a problematic tribe."⁶² We are not concerned with identifying them; namely, whether they were Chickasaw or a tribe akin to the Taensa and Natchez; nor is there any point in ascertaining the exact meaning of the word.⁶³ What is pertinent is that this name is certainly Algonquian and that the explorers obviously heard it—just as the names of the other tribes on the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers—from Algonquian-speaking Indians.

The name "Mons8pelea" does not appear in the *Récit*. When they were beyond the Ohio, Dablon wrote, the explorers met "Indians armed with guns," who had, besides, "hatchets, hoes, knives, and beads, and glass bottles." These Indians told the French that they bought "cloth and all other goods from Europeans who lived in the east; that these Europeans had rosary beads and holy pictures; that they played musical instruments; and that there were men like me [Marquette] who treated them well."⁶⁴ Later when the expedition reached the Arkansas village, they were told that "those Indians armed with guns whom we had met were their enemies who blocked the way to the sea, and prevented them from communicating with Europeans and from trading with them."⁶⁵

The sources whence Dablon derived these details are Marquette's map, a Jolliet map, and verbal information from members of the expedition or an account of the discovery which is now lost. We are omitting here the proof of these assertions, because it only has an indirect bearing on the analysis of Marquette's map. As we

⁶² Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Mosopelea.

⁶³ Cf. C. H. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 2 volumes, New York, 1911, II, 94-103.

⁶⁴ It is difficult to see how these Indians could have communicated with the explorers considering that Marquette wrote in his letter, *infra*, note 66, "Verum cum ab ipsis nihil inteligerem."

⁶⁵ JR, 59:146-154. On the anonymous variant of Jolliet's map, the "M8ns8peria" are placed south of the Arkansas; and on the map published by Thévenot, the "Mons8peria" are located both north and south of the Arkansas. These and other early maps of the Mississippi Valley will be discussed in subsequent articles. It should be noted that Tonti, Margry, I, 610, and Nicolas de la Salle, *ibid.*, 568, mention the presence of Mosopelea among the Taensa in 1682.

shall see presently, the explorers met the Mons8pelea on their return journey and Marquette gave them a letter.⁶⁶

The authenticity of the original of this letter can hardly be questioned, because it contains a reference to the "immaculate Virgin," which Alvord rightly considers as particularly significant, and also because it is dated "ad Fluvium Convectionis [Conceptionis]." On this latter point Alvord remarks that "in August 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name 'Conception'."

That the explorers met these Indians on their return journey and not on the way down as Dablon says is deduced from the following facts: 1) the date of their arrival at the Mississippi, June 15, 1673; 2) the date of their portage at Chicago on the return journey, sometime in September 1673; 3) from what Jolliet told Dablon in July 1674 with regard to the distance covered in one day during their ascent of the Mississippi below the Missouri; 4) from the time it took other seventeenth century explorers to travel by canoe from the mouth of the White River to the vicinity of present-day Memphis.

The data pertinent to the identification of the Mons8pelea as the Indians whom they met on the return journey are contained in the dateline at the end of the letter: "Dat[ae] ad Fluvium Convectionis [Conceptionis] ad / / altitudinem Poli 35^a / / ad Longitud[inem] forte 275^a / / 4th August 1675 [*i. e.*, 1673]." / ⁶⁷

Latitude 35° is the Tennessee-Mississippi boundary line, whereas on Marquette's map, the position of the Mons8pelea is at latitude 35° 15', the site of present-day Memphis. We take this discrepancy to be another indication of the way in which the map was made and which we have already described. When any latitude on the map differs from the corresponding latitude in a Marquette document, the preference is to be given to the latter. Since on the map only the Mons8pelea are indicated near latitude 35°, and since Marquette gave to Indians a letter in which this latitude is specifically mentioned, we conclude that these Indians were those whom he calls Mons8pelea.

Another point in connection with the above-mentioned dateline is the longitude given. Translated into modern terms the position

⁶⁶ C. W. Alvord, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter," *The American Historical Review*, XXV, 1919-1920, 676-680.

⁶⁷ The month and the day were clearly not in English in the original; "4th August" is the copyist's translation of Marquette's "4^a [die] August[is]."

would be in Guadalupe County, New Mexico, where the 35th parallel crosses the 105th meridian, *i. e.*, 800 miles farther west than their actual position. Neither Marquette nor Jolliet nor, indeed, any seventeenth century French explorer of the Mississippi Valley could compute longitudes. The question is, what led Marquette to give this approximate (*forte*) longitude which is so very different from the actual meridian? This enormous difference is all the more puzzling seeing that on the map the longitudinal distance of the Mons8pelea from Sault Ste Marie is 350 miles, that is, only 50 miles farther than the actual distance between these two points, since the longitudinal distance between Sault Ste Marie and Memphis is 300 miles.⁶⁸ Incidentally, we have here a further indication that the whole map was made after Marquette's return to Green Bay, and that it was made independently of existing maps of the region explored. If the map had been drawn before his departure, or even during his voyage,⁶⁹ he would have given longitude 284° instead of longitude 275°, for on the maps of the time the longitude of Sault Ste Marie is 289°.

The explanation for his giving longitude 275° in this letter, seems to be that this was the longitude as marked on some map which the explorers had with them. In all the extant documentation concerning the expedition of 1673, there is not one word about any equipment that would enable them to calculate their position. From the accuracy of the latitudes, however, it is evident that they had an astrolabe, and in view of the time of the year, they must also have had declination tables. Since it was further customary for explorers to carry a map, there is no reason to suppose that Marquette and Jolliet lacked this part of the usual equipment. Indeed, on a basis of the two coordinates mentioned in the dateline of Marquette's letter, we can arrive at a very probable conclusion about the identity of the map which they had with them.

We know that in the second half of the seventeenth century the maps of Nicolas Sanson were very popular not only in France but all over Europe and in Canada. The geographical passages of the Jesuit Relations after 1660 do not make sense unless they are read

⁶⁸ On Marquette's map Mons8pelea is five degrees west of Sault Ste Marie. In view of the projection used by Marquette one degree of longitude is equal to one degree of latitude. The actual longitudinal difference between Sault Ste Marie and Memphis is 5° 40', which multiplied by the cosine of 40°—the middle latitude—gives 300 miles.

⁶⁹ This is Weld's opinion; cf. "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, 13.

with reference to Sanson's maps;⁷⁰ and these maps had by this time become the vade-mecum of French missionaries and explorers in North America. Thus, Galinée carried a Sanson map on his 1669-1670 voyage to the west;⁷¹ and La Salle had the Sanson-Jaillet map of 1674 when he descended the Mississippi to the Gulf in 1682.⁷² From these instances we infer that Jolliet and Marquette had a map with them. That it was very likely Sanson's map of Florida of 1656 or 1657 can be inferred from the following argument.⁷³ The first coordinate given in the dateline of the letter, latitude 35°, was actually computed by the explorers. Now this latitude appears on both the Sanson maps of Florida, 1656 and 1657, and on both these maps the 35th parallel crosses the 275th meridian near the banks of a large river flowing to the south-southeast. Hence Marquette would naturally suppose that this meridian represented his actual position while writing his letter with his map before him.

This long analysis could have been dispensed with, if Marquette's journal on which the map is based were extant. Since this important document has unfortunately been lost, anyone wishing to study the voyage of 1673 must of necessity begin by carefully analyzing the few primary sources which we possess. The attempt to write an account of the discovery of the Mississippi on any other basis will certainly have the following result—either a mere repetition, with the usual literary frills, of what has been in print for the past two hundred years, or an elaboration of theories which are quite unsupported by the meager available evidence.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History
Loyola University

⁷⁰ Cf. J. Delanglez, "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 235. Dablon also made use of Sanson's map of North America of 1650 to compute the longitude of Lake Nikabau. *JR*, 46:274.

⁷¹ Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 204.

⁷² J. Delanglez, "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 157.

⁷³ *Le Nouveau Mexique et la Floride . . .* Par N. Sanson, Paris, 1656. *La Floride* Par N. Sanson, Paris, 1657. On these maps cf. "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," *loc. cit.*, 144.

The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires

Just off the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, in a well appointed rotunda of olden stock, are housed the general archives of the Argentine nation, the *Archivo General de la Nación*. All around the spacious rotunda on shelves which run up to a second story are stacked in bundles, designated and numbered, and arranged in chronological order, the ancient records of the Argentine from the period of the founding of Buenos Aires in 1580 up to near the present time. Among these are documents relating to the Jesuits, who, in colonial times especially, were an important factor in the development of the country.

Thirteen thick bundles of the hundreds carry documents relating to the activities of the Jesuits. Each bundle contains numerous records. They begin with the year 1595, fifteen years after the foundation of the city by Juan de Garay. The first two packets are taken up with late sixteenth and seventeenth century documents. The following nine are concerned with the eighteenth century, and two hold documents relating to various years.

There is another archive belonging to the Jesuits themselves housed in the *Colegio Máximo*, the Jesuit seminary at San Miguel, a beautiful suburb west of Buenos Aires. Here are several hundred documents belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There is a difference between these two deposits. The documents of the *Archivo General* range more widely afield. They include many of domestic import, such as the regulations of Jesuit superiors and official visitors to Jesuit colleges and missions; expense accounts of Jesuits; lists of books belonging to one or another Jesuit library; statistics concerning the fathers and the Indians of the famous Reductions of Paraguay and missions of lower Bolivia; friendly dealings or troubles with officials or bishops, such as the Governor of Buenos Aires, and especially, Bernardo de Cárdenas, the rebel Bishop of Asunción in Paraguay.

Other Jesuit documents here in the *Archivo General* are more of a state nature. Governors appoint missionaries; they ask for the help of the Indians of the missions for the defense of the country or for public improvements. Here we read of the importance of the missions as a defense against the infidel Indian or the incursions of

the English, Dutch, or French; we witness the protection of the mission Indian against exploitation on the part of colonials; we learn of the traffic on the Río Paraná of the *yerba mate*, the Argentine tea.

The documents in the Jesuit seminary at San Miguel are more of a domestic nature. They are chiefly the letters of various generals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the Provincials of Paraguay, resident in Asunción. These are concerned with the appointment of superiors of the colleges or of missions, the last vows of priests, the correction of faults of houses or members, the expulsion of undesirable members, the financial status of houses, travellers to Europe, various disciplinary regulations. These, therefore, are in part domestic and private, the inner administration and problems of the Order. They correspond to the splendid set of Gerarals' letters belonging to the Mexican Province and filed at the Jesuit seminary in Ysleta, Texas.

Another set of documents of rich historical value, especially concerning the history of the Reductions of Paraguay, are not in Argentina at all; they are in Brazil, in the National Archives at Rio de Janeiro. These are the annual letters, the *anuas*, of Jesuit superiors and missionaries written to the Provincial or to the General. Many of these have been published. How did this important collection find its way into Rio, whereas the natural place of lodgment should be either the Jesuit archives in San Miguel or the National Archives in Buenos Aires? The story is this: One of the Argentine scholars in the time of Dictator Rosas of early independence days, Pedro de Angelis, collected by various and sometimes devious ways these annual letters until he possessed a fairly complete set. He offered them for sale to the Dictator, who was not interested. Then he offered them to Don Pedro II, the enlightened Emperor of Brazil. He was interested; he bought them for the nation and lodged them in the National Archives. There they rest today for the consultation of scholars. There is much logic in having the *anuas* in their present abode. Was it not the Brazilian Jesuits, beginning with Father Nunes and Father Nóbrega, who pointed the way to Paraguay in 1551? And some of the Reductions were situated in what is now Southwestern Brazil. Here the martyr missionary, Blessed Roque González, a native of Asunción, was done to death on Brazilian soil, and among the Jesuit letters at Rio are three written by him.

The first and oldest Jesuit document in the Archives in Buenos Aires is dated June 15, 1595. The most numerous and important materials pertain to the specific angle of the Jesuit organization, the

famous Paraguay Reductions. First manuscript notice of these is dated June 22, 1627, and is a report of "Juan Luis de Sayas, Procurator of the Reductions which the Company of Jesus holds in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Guayra, and Uruay [*sic*]." It speaks of four new reductions founded, of the confirmation by the Spanish Governor Francisco de Cespedes, and of how the fathers and Spaniards "took possession of these provinces of Uruay." The growth of the missions can be witnessed through these documents. In 1646 they were sixteen in number; we watch them expand to twenty-nine during this and the following century. We read how Indians from the missions brought the *yerba mate* down the rivers on rafts to Santa Fé, not to sell but as payment of the tribute to the King. For protection against incursions of slave-hunting whites and wild tribes, the Indians were armed. This was with the King's permission. But in the middle of the seventeenth century a royal *cédula* ordered that the Indians be disarmed; there are lists of the exact number of weapons given up at each mission; then the order was revoked. The correspondence is here.

There are found many evidences of the usefulness of the mission Indians. In 1663 the Governor of Buenos Aires asks for three hundred to build fortifications against the English. He gives minute instructions for 1,000 cedar planks to be hewn in the mission lands and transported with all other materials by the Indians, who were hired for three months at four to six pesos a day. Again, when the Bishop of Buenos Aires wanted to build his cathedral he called upon the Jesuit Provincial of Paraguay for help. Other letters reveal these outpost missions as a prop and a protection to the Spanish provinces in their times of need. It is strange that one of the main difficulties was the rebel Bishop of Asunción, Fray Bernardino de Cárdenas, who marched into the country with soldiers to remove many missionaries. Of course, the Indians fled and remained dispersed for several years. Here we are reminded of the resounding quarrel during that same decade of the 1640's which the Jesuits in New Spain had with Bishop Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Intermittent documents concerning this episode rest in a dozen archives in Europe and America, and, surely enough, the thunders of the Mexican feud were heard rumbling in distant Argentina, for here are copies under date of 1648 of the King's memorial on the Jurisdiction of Palafox and a brief of Innocent X on the same subject.

Dozens of interesting items, shades and sidelights of history, may be culled from the old manuscripts pertaining to the Platean and lower Brazilian areas. Some are of greater importance and some

may be utilized for the color which they lend. When Buenos Aires was relatively less important than the western and northern cities, we see how the missions helped to support colleges in the cities. We learn that in 1697 when the French sacked Buenos Aires, the governor asked the Jesuits for 2,000 Paraguay Indians for the defense of the land. We find definite instructions to missionaries on keeping records: The fathers were to put things in writing lest they be forgotten; they should use the blackest ink; they should keep accounts in a fire-proof place. On the humorous side, the padres in Paraguay were allowed two shirts a week, because of the great summer heats, but they could not use tobacco, nor eat chocolate, nor drink the tea, *yerba mate*. There is even a code of regulations regarding the prisons and prison treatment of criminals and delinquent Indians!

There are scattered through these documents in the Jesuit archives of Buenos Aires some fine records of official visitations made by painstaking superiors. One of these is the complete record of conditions in all of the Jesuit houses and missions, made during a tour of inspection from January to October, 1714, by the Provincial, Luis de la Roca. The analysis of this will form the subject of a future paper. Many of the manuscripts have already found publication and exploitation, as is well known, in the Argentine, in Brazil, and in Peru. Some day the complementary letters, charts, and records in various European depositories will likewise be brought together for publication. The work of gathering and calendaring toward this goal goes on apace, while the number of books and articles deriving from the Jesuit sources is increasing daily.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

Book Reviews

Thomas Francis Meehan (1854-1942). A Memoir. By Sister M. Natalena Farrelly, S.S.J. The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1944. Pp. 139.

For twenty-seven years Thomas F. Meehan was editor of *The Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, for three years he was its president. This "Memoir" is a slight tribute to his many years as an historical scholar. It consists of three chapters with two appendices.

The first two chapters have been written by Sister M. Natalena Farrelly and deal respectively with his life and his work for the United States Catholic Historical Association. For a man of eighty-seven years who was actively writing to his last day, a biography of forty-six pages must of its very nature be sketchy and unsatisfying. What a reviewer wrote of Meehan's "Life of Thomas Mulry" might well be said of this volume: "The only criticism we can offer is that the biography is entirely too brief to do justice to his memory." Many facts have been assembled here; a multitude of names skip across the pages; much material is awaiting the writer who can breathe the pulse of life into this interesting career.

Chapter Three entitled: "Thomas F. Meehan and *America*" has been contributed by the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J. This is a charmingly written account of *America's* early days, much of it in Meehan's own words. In these days of Catholic Action, it is heartening to realize how intimate an association could spring up between this zealous and learned layman and a group of clerical editors. Such was the friendship between them that Meehan could say in his declining years that he was the oldest Jesuit in the province.

It was a happy thought to include a selection of his essays in the Appendix. These are valuable and interesting journeys into obscure bypaths of American Catholic history and manifest historical curiosity and patient research. They whet the reader's appetite to enjoy more of his writings, a complete list of which follows in Appendix II. This demonstrates how Meehan, author of only one published book, hid the lamp of his indefatigable pen under the bushel of innumerable magazine articles and contributions to encyclopedias and other collections.

It is unfortunate that Meehan with his vigilant editor's eye was not able to proof-read this volume because there are numerous typographical slips, the most amusing of which is a sentence attributed to him where he writes (p. 104) concerning a zealous priest, the Very Rev. Dr. John Power: "His admirers thought that his abilities ought to have been rewarded with a miller" (miter?).

The volume closes with a satisfactory Index.

HARRY C. KOENIG

The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877. By Peter Beckman, O.S.B. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1943. Pp. 168.

This doctorate dissertation tells the history of the Catholic Church in Kansas during the administration of John Baptist Miège, S.J., as vicar apostolic. A brief survey of mission history prior to his appointment is given in a nine page introduction. Here the author has attempted no original research. He merely summarizes Garraghan's masterful account in "The Jesuits of the Middle United States."

Because in English and in French there are already published accounts of Bishop Miège's life, Father Beckman devotes his attention chiefly to the missionary activities of the priests and the sisters in spreading the faith throughout Kansas. For this reason the dissertation develops into a veritable catalog of persons and places. The apostolic labors of these heroic men and women are followed from one mission to another for twenty-seven years. All this research is based on the very best sources, but it does not sustain the reader's interest.

While the Church's growth in Kansas during these pioneer days was not as phenomenal as elsewhere, there are not a few interesting episodes such as the political disputes prior to the Civil War, the serious drought of 1860, the sectional divisions during the War of Emancipation, the building of the railroads through the Jayhawker State, and the grasshopper plague of 1874. These events are mentioned by the author, but their human interest value appears to have escaped him. If it was his sole purpose to verify from the sources every settlement visited by a priest during this span of years, then Father Beckman has succeeded admirably and tersely. But the fascinating story of these saintly missionaries could have been told in a fresh style that would have invited Catholics to read the early church history of Kansas. As it stands, the book will be used only for reference and for research.

In reading this book the reviewer was deeply impressed by the vital stimulant given to the growth of American Catholicism through the continual benefactions of the famous European missionary societies—the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons, the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich, the Leopoldinenstiftung of Vienna. American Catholics need to be reminded that soon it will be our privilege to return those alms a hundred-fold to these war-stricken dioceses which, with the return of peace, will be in as desperate a plight as were our primitive vicariates.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary,
Mundelein, Illinois

Austrian Aid to American Catholics 1830-1860. By Benjamin J. Blied, Ph.D. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1944. Pp. 205.

This is the story of the contributions made by Austria to the cause of Catholic churches, missions, schools, convents, seminaries, and orphanages in the United States during the middle thirty years of the last century. The

donations were made possible and practical by the organization of the Leopoldine Society, around whose efforts much of the volume revolves. Not neglecting other less formal types of Austrian contributions or other societies founded for a similar purpose the author is concerned especially with the beneficences which were of such vital aid to the builders and the building of many institutions and thus in the formation of society in the United States.

After an historical prelude Father Blied devotes a chapter to beginnings of the Leopoldine Society and its material contributions to forty-one cities. The survey includes estimates of the work of the Ludwig Mission Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Then follows a chapter on what the Austrians and Americans were writing about each other during the period; this is presented in a commendable objective manner, and over and above indicating the mutual dislike in the two countries, it might serve as a guide for possible research in the wider field of American-Austrian relations. The American mission scene and the Austrians in it form the subjects of chapters four and five. The last three chapters on "Austria and American Catholic Institutions," "Austrian Secular Priests," and "Austrians in Religious Orders," reveal a mature comprehension of the history of the Church in the middle western states. In fact, the book is a contribution for its friendly style, for its organization and analyses of sources, and for the ample references to wider reading of the secondary citations.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago.

History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943. By Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1944. 3 vol. Pp. xx, 812, 766, 808.

If it is true that some men are fortunate in their biographers it is equally true of the Archdiocese of Boston; for in the three volumes under consideration the Rev. Doctors Lord, Sexton and Harrington present a study equal to any in the field of American Catholic Church history. In as much as he writes the third volume and shares the authorship of the second Dr. Lord plays the major rôle in composition. Presentation by administration was suggested by the fact that only five bishops presided over the destinies of the diocese during its 135 years of existence. Moreover, chronological treatment offered the advantage that events fell into their proper sequence and setting.

Dr. Sexton begins volume one with a comprehensive survey of the religious scene in New England before the creation of the diocese of Boston. Inevitably religious liberty is stressed; denials of it, restrictions, and the long struggle to attain it even in limited form are chronicled. With the background sketched he tells the story of the organization of the diocese, dwells on the dissensions that marked the early days, and outlines the administration of Cheverus, Boston's first bishop. Despite numerous obstacles, progress, while slow, was steady.

Dr. Lord continues the narrative in volume two with an account of the career of Bishop Fenwick. During his tenure of office the chief events were the extension of Catholicity throughout New England, the beginning of Irish immigration, the savage outburst of bigotry culminating in the destruction of the Ursuline convent in Charleston, the rise and spread of the temperance movement, and the coming into the Church of men and women from every class and walk of life, the most noted being Orestes Brownson.

In the twenty years that Fitzpatrick was bishop, covered by Dr. Harrington, Irish immigration reached flood tide and raised many problems. Moreover, there was conflict over the use of the Protestant Bible and prayers in the schools. There was besides a new outcropping of bigotry promoted by the nativist group and the Know-Nothing party, to subside only when the Civil War turned men's minds to other interests.

Dr. Lord resumes in volume three, devoting the whole of it to the sixty-seven years spanned by the incumbency of Bishops Williams and O'Connell. Williams presided for forty-one years. While he was bishop—archbishop after 1875—more religious orders found a home in the diocese, educational problems gave rise to prolonged and acrimonious discussion, St. John's Seminary was begun, a system of parochial schools was inaugurated, and there was a notable development of charitable agencies and activities. Even more significant were the coming into the diocese of Catholic groups hitherto unrepresented, the resurgence of anti-Catholic hostility by the A.P.A., and Archbishop Williams' attendance at the Vatican Council.

Archbishop O'Connell's thirty-six years of incumbency conclude the study. His early career is sketched, his reorganization of the archdiocese, his elevation to the cardinalate in 1911, his activities in the First World War, the expansion of educational and charitable facilities, the K.K.K. episode, the cardinal's several jubilees and participation in the election of Pius XII, are all recorded and evaluated.

The authors are to be complimented on their achievement. In the foreword we are told that twelve years were devoted to the preparation and writing of these volumes. To ascertain the facts they searched every quarter where information might lurk—diocesan archives, the repositories of religious orders and colleges, collections at secular institutions at home and abroad. The list is formidable and assuring. Documentation is generous; the index is most satisfactory. Treatment is uniformly fair and objective; unpleasant facts are not blinked or glossed; the good, the less good, the bad find their place in these pages. In addition to supplying an encyclopedia of information about the archdiocese, other issues, such as the case of Father Rasle, are studied.

Presentation by administrations has advantages but it is not free from limitations. Some may object that it results in a disjointed chronicle of major topics such as immigration, education or intolerance, and makes impossible a general survey of the subject. This is true, but the objective of the authors was not to offer a general study of such topics, but phases of them as they affected the Church then and there. There is too considerable cataloguing of the founding of churches and other institutions, and of episcopal activities. But these events are so close to us that it is questionable whether they can be seen in true perspective, whether a comprehensive

evaluation is already possible. Moreover, these chapters can be skipped by the reader if he so desires. Reviewers will dislike the copyright which seems to preclude quotation, however brief, even in a review.

In conclusion we congratulate the archdiocese of Boston on the setting forth of its history on so grand a scale by acknowledged scholars. They have set an example for other diocesan historians to emulate; they may rest satisfied that their labors have borne such fruit. Those who knew that this project was under way under the supervision of Dr. Lord looked forward to its accomplishment; they have not been disappointed in their high expectations.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College, Indiana.

Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico. By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1944. Pp. x, 227.

This is the third volume in a series now being published on the work of the Jesuits in Spanish North America; it follows Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* and Peter Masten Dunne's *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*.

Father Dunne's latest volume is a highly readable and thoroughly moving narrative of heroic Jesuit mission founding on New Spain's northern frontier in the opening years of the seventeenth century. It is the story of the spread of the Faith among the four savage "nations" of the Laguneros, the Tepehuanes, the Acaxées, and the Xiximes, plus related smaller groups in and to the east of the Sierra Madre Occidental. The book unfolds the early and exceedingly difficult years of the mission system which radiated from the principal base at Durango, capital of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. The author presents a dramatic mixture of missionaries and medicine men, miners and hard-fighting Spanish soldiery, savage rebellions and Christian martyrdom; and out of this comes a narrative which is a worthy tribute to the high courage and devotion of that small band of Black Robes responsible for the advance of Christian civilization on this distant and dangerous New World frontier.

The story Father Dunne writes is for the most part well-organized, carefully written, and shows long and painstaking preparation based on a complete devotion to his subject. The enthusiasm of the author is apparent throughout, and this, combined with the drama of the events themselves, makes the narrative one which should appeal as much or more to the general reader as to the specialist.

The volume opens with introductory chapters on the beginnings of Jesuit activity in New Spain and this is followed by several chapters devoted to missionary foundations in the land of the lagoon Indians, especially the mission at Parras, east of the sierras. Returning to the mountain country, the reader finds the fathers vigorously organizing missions and saving souls among the heathen Xiximes, Acaxées, and the sullen and skeptical Tepehuanes, bringing them into pueblos for easier conversion and better organized Christian living. Various crises, such as revolt among the Xiximes

(subdued by the great governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Francisco de Urdiñola) and almost constant conflict with the influence exerted by leading *hechiceros*, or medicine men, liven this phase of the book and build up to the climax in the Tepehuán revolt which set the northern frontier ablaze in 1616-1617. But the savages were subdued by strong military action, and the final chapters deal with the reconstruction of the mission system which had been almost wiped out by the size and savagery of the Tepehuán uprising. Throughout runs the main theme of self-sacrifice and inspiring martyrdom combined with constructive Christian teaching which the Jesuit heroes brought to this far frontier.

The book contains only a few minor errors, such as misplacement or omission of accents on Spanish words and some inconsistency in the use of Spanish surnames, but such errors do not impair the over-all excellence of the work. A few historical inaccuracies were noted; for example, giving credit to Urdiñola for the founding of Saltillo (p. 80). The reader might occasionally object to the author's tendency toward excessive optimism in appraising the work of individual missionaries especially when the recorded events seem, at times, not to bear out all the praise which the author frequently allots to the black robed heroes of the narrative.

The volume is attractively printed and contains portraits of the martyrs and a good map. There is also a well written and useful "Essay on Sources," a bibliography, and an adequate index.

PHILIP WAYNE POWELL

Northwestern University.